



A  
CRITICAL INQUIRY  
INTO THE  
L I F E  
O F  
ALEXANDER THE GREAT,  
BY THE  
ANCIENT HISTORIANS:

From the FRENCH of the BARON DE ST. CROIX:

WITH  
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS,

*By Sir RICHARD CLAYTON, Bart.*

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Illustrated with a Map of the Marches of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

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M,DCC,XCIII.



TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
*THE EARL OF DERBY,*  
LORD LIEUTENANT and CUSTOS ROTULORUM  
OF THE  
COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.

*MY LORD,*

FROM the Friendship, with which you have long honoured me, I have no hesitation to whom I should address the following Work.—Permit me then to place your name at the head of it, and at the same time to offer it to your Lordship, as a trifling testimony of the attachment and regard of

YOUR FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

*RICHARD CLAYTON.*

*Sept. 12<sup>th</sup> 1793.*





P R E F A C E.

THE Critical Examination of the Ancient Historians of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, which now appears in an English Dress, was first ushered into the World at the French Academy “des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,” where it obtained the Premium from that learned Society in the Year 1772. After an interval of three years the Author published it with additions and improvements; but the Impression was rapidly bought up, and there is not at present a single copy to be procured without difficulty upon the Continent. I have reason to believe that a knowledge of it has been hitherto confined within a narrow circle in GREAT BRITAIN, and that when it has crossed the Channel, it hath been to pass only into the hands of a few persons of Taste and Erudition.—Of the Original the French Academy

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demy hath expressed its unqualified approbation: of the Translation it becomes not me to speak. In justice however to the Baron de St. Croix, I ought to acknowledge that some alterations have been made, and for these I am responsible. Some redundancies I may have also pruned off, but I flatter myself the full vigour of the leading Shoot hath been preserved. If I have deviated from the Original, in the introduction of the quotations from the different Writers, that have been cited, I may not possibly have occasion for much apology. The learned Reader will readily forgive a number of his old Acquaintances being again brought immediately before his eye, and when Authors are referred to, they are undoubtedly the best Comment on themselves. On turning indeed to the Greek Writers, I was not particularly satisfied with the French Versions of the passages in question. Some of them were loose; in others the sense appeared to have been mistaken;

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mistaken; and, in these instances, I considered the production of the evidence, on which I formed my opinions, to be a duty, from which I could not honourably disengage myself. The references in many places have been by these means corrected; where they were wanting, they have been added; and from their number, the Work has taken insensibly a new shape. The Notes and Observations will be found in general connected with the Subject. Sometimes I may have wandered beyond the limits, that perhaps I should have prescribed to myself, yet I still trust the excursions are not of unpardonable extent.



E R R A T A.

*For Volga read Wolga passim*



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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE state of letters depends in every country upon its political constitution. Public liberty gives birth and animation to talents of every denomination: despotism strangles them at once.—Sparta, forgetful of the sage maxims of its legislator, and Athens, intoxicated with its successes, neglected their common safety, from principles of mutual distrust. The Peloponnesian war having wasted their forces, and the momentary glory of Thebes having expired with Epaminondas, Philip embraced the opportunity of the Grecian dissensions to dissolve their federal government, and to reduce the people that had so long resisted the arms of Asia. In vain was the eloquence of Demosthenes exerted to rouse his countrymen from their shameful lethargy. Their morals were corrupted, luxury had annihilated every manly sentiment, and the great exploits of so many heroes who had immortalized themselves in the fields of Marathon and Plataea, and in the naval victories near Salamis, instead of reviving in the breasts of the Athenians their antient enthusiasm for military vir-

ture, served only by flattering their pride and vanity, to render them self-sufficient and presumptuous.—National effeminacy had gradually prepared the Persian monarchy for its ruin, and on the death of Philip, Alexander mounted the throne and put a period to that empire. The death of this prince in its turn produced another revolution, which was attended with effects equally melancholy and fatal to the general repose, and to the progress of science and of literature. At intervals the Greeks became the sport of ambition and of the caprices of Alexander's successors, and those proud and spirited republicans were rapidly metamorphosed into a degraded herd of slaves. Even the tribune where Demosthenes had thundered, soon only echoed with decrees dictated by adulation and servility.—One little spark of freedom was indeed still cherished in a part of the Peloponnesus, and the zeal of Aratus, the valour of Philopæmon, and the wisdom of Lycortas gave celebrity to the Achæan league, and supported it in its delicate and distressing circumstances. The corruption however had extended too far to be checked, and the very vitals of the Grecian constitution were infected with the general depravity. Callisthenes and his partisans made no scruple of selling their country to the Romans, and this wary and crafty people, who had always the art of concealing the servitude, to which they reduced the neighbouring nations, under the specious appearances of alliances and friendship, completed its subjection. But Greece, by the destruction of the Achæans, had indeed demolished the last rampart of its liberty.

The



The arts and sciences did not long survive the loss, and despotism opened for them with the same hands one common tomb. Tragedy, whose peculiar province it was to call down the public detestation upon tyranny, and the ancient comedy, which had the happy privilege of holding up the abuse of power to contempt and irony, and of correcting by these means any excesses of the democratic spirit, lost at once their influence, and along with it their brilliancy. The Gymnastic games, so proper for the exercise of muscular strength, and to form soldiers in the times of peace, became but an useless spectacle, and the individuals who distinguished themselves on these occasions were principally remarkable for their scandalous deportment. That sublime art, which animated the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton drooped and languished, when it was to figure but the images of slaves and parasites. Even the philosopher, who from having directed the instruction of the superior order of his fellow-citizens descended into their sycophant, was at last distinguished only by the habit of the ancient sects, which so many great names had dignified.—Here let us pause upon the fate of history in these disastrous days.

That enchanting harmony of style, with the art of giving energy to the most trifling details, which characterizes the works of Herodotus; the sublime and simple graces of Xenophon, uniting the most profound political knowledge with all the talents of an able general and of a philosopher worthy of the friendship of Socrates; the manly eloquence and stern virtue of Thucydides

had disappeared, and we find but very few, if any, traces of their masterly productions in the writers who followed them in the historic line.—Yet Theopompus, Philistus, Ephorus and Timæus enjoyed a great share of popular applause, though their several works are deficient both in method and materials.—The civil revolutions undoubtedly occasioned this striking difference, and there are three remarkable eras, that should be particularly attended to.—The first is the precise period when Philip had rendered himself the master of Greece.

Tyranny naturally produces different effects on different dispositions and characters. Weak and pusillanimous some bend immediately beneath the blast, and losing on the first moment of attack every idea of resistance, they kiss with trembling adoration the hand which is lifted up for their oppression. With a superior force of mind, and indignant at the prospect of those evils, which arbitrary power hath always following at its heels, others endeavour to exasperate their country by virulent invectives against its new masters, and alternately exaggerate their vices, and diminish the little virtue, that they may accidentally possess. Such was the influence of the Macedonian power, and it is visible both in the conduct of those who were at the head of the Grecian states, and the writings of the times.

The reign of Alexander may be reckoned the second stage of the decline of history. Greece being accustomed to the Macedonian yoke, and dazzled by the victories of the conqueror of Asia,

Asia, in which it was in some sort interested from the glory reflected on it, the fermentation which Philip's enterprises had excited in its republican breasts gradually cooled. Their hatred and animosity were at length succeeded by enthusiasm, and the splendid actions of the Macedonian warrior made an impression on the spectators too forcible and powerful to be resisted. The later writers, who have taken up the same subject, have but too often imbibed their sentiments. They lived indeed under the Roman jurisdiction, but in the miserable times when the universe became a prey to the caprices of those sanguinary wretches, who filled so disgracefully the throne of the Cæsars. This is the third epoch of the change in the historic character, and it will be afterwards entered into at large.

The total extinction of the democratic form of government involved in it the fall of literature, and more particularly of history, which admits of no cultivation with success under arbitrary power. Truth was then buried under a mass of fabulous and contradictory traditions, and the penetrating sagacity of the philosopher can alone distinguish it from falsity, and reconcile the statements of various and jarring recitals.—It would be the height of folly to imagine, that in the following treatise the way hath been clearly seen amidst the darkness in which ages are enveloped, or that facts have been at all times sufficiently discriminated, which have been magnified beyond their just proportion by adulation, and by that love of the marvellous, which was a prevailing passion amongst the Greeks, and a foible from which

which even their best writers are not exempt. In the pursuit of the succeeding inquiries the truth hath not only been endeavoured to be discovered, but according to Aristotle's advice the probability. In some instances, it hath been necessary to substitute conjectures for proofs, and where the reality hath been totally concealed to be satisfied with reasonable suppositions.—Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Arrian, Q. Curtius and Justin are the principal historians, who have preserved at any length the actions in the reign of Alexander. A minute examination of each of these writers would be unavoidably embarrassed with their repetitions and obscurities. The route, that hath been chalked out, appears likely to secure it against these inconveniences, and to leave the full liberty of bestowing every degree of attention on the facts in chronological order. On this plan, the observations may be extended not only to the writers of the life of Alexander, but to every thing that antiquity hath transmitted to us relative to this celebrated conqueror.—In the first section, the sources, from which the several historians have drawn their information, and the degree of authority, that is their due, will be examined. The second will be confined to the military exploits of Alexander, and in the third, those actions will be treated of, that particularly delineate his character. The fourth will be set apart for some geographical details, which his different expeditions naturally furnish.

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# CRITICAL INQUIRY

RELATING TO THE

ANCIENT HISTORIANS

WHO HAVE WRITTEN OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

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## SECT. I.

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AFTER the last sigh of expiring Liberty in any State, patriotifm in its language ceafes to convey to us the fame idea ; and having loft its influence, no longer warms the frozen breasts of the inhabitants. Though united within the fame walls, they concern themselves no farther with public affairs than as their own private interefts are immediately affected, and enjoying the prefent hour without any care of futurity, they are ever ready  
to



to become the slaves of that master, who bids highest for their purchase. Self-interest dries up the source of every social virtue, and as the love of their country, which once inspired them with every great and noble sentiment for the public good, no longer actuates them, men of letters frequently employ their talents on subjects equally devoid of spirit and utility. Taken in this light the annals of a conqueror cannot agitate the reader, like those sublime and pathetic traits which are perpetually occurring in the history of a Free People. A single individual acts and triumphs, and a few divided rays of glory are faintly scattered on his troops. In a Republic, on the contrary, each member of the community hath a share more or less considerable in every event; and the happiness or misery of the public, from his relation to it, becomes that of his own family.—The actions of his fellow-citizens are hereditary distinctions transmitted to his children, and the national and private glory are the same.

In turning over the histories of the ancient Free states, notwithstanding the distance of time, and a revolution in the manners and forms of government, the events still fasten on the mind, and affect it with the liveliest emotions. Greece, however, when overpowered with the pressure of the Macedonian yoke, and afterwards with that of the Romans, paid little attention to public measures. The vigour of its historians was soon lost in the drudgery of their servile pens, and their genius vanished with the bright days of their country. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, after having mentioned that harmonious elocution which marked the  
style

style of the ancient Grecian writers, adds "There is not one of the moderns that hath bestowed the least regard on it, or considered it as either necessary or adding elegance to their performances. The numerous writings therefore, which they have left us, are of such a nature as few readers have the patience to go through them. In this class are to be included Phylarchus, Duris, Polybius, Saon, Demetrius Calantianus, Hieronymus, Antiochus, Heraclides, Hegesias the Magnesian, and many others, whose names a whole day would not allow me to enumerate." <sup>a</sup>

In proportion as the weight of servitude was felt, the human mind shrunk within itself, and the stream of light, which letters

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had

<sup>a</sup> "Τοις δὲ μεταγενετέροις ἔκετι, πληρὸν ὀλίγων χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον πανταπατὶν ἠμεληθῆ· καὶ εἰς αὐτοῦ δεινῆ ἀναγκῆν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἢ δὲ συμβαλλεσθαι τι τῷ καλλεῖ τῶν λόγων. Τοιγαρτοὶ τοιαύτας συντάξεις κατελιπόν, οἷας ὡδεῖς ὑπομένει μεχρὶ κορωνίδος διελθεῖν· Φελαρχὸν λέγων, καὶ Δερίν, καὶ Πολιβίου, καὶ Ψάωνα, καὶ τὸν Καλάντιον Δημητρίον, Ἰερωνίμον τε καὶ Ἀντίοχον, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην, καὶ Ἠγησίαν Μαγνήτην, καὶ ἄλλους μυρίους· ὧν ἅπαντων τὰ ὀνόματα εἰ βελόμην λέγειν, ἐπιλείψει με ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνος." Dion. Halicarn. de structurâ orat. 39, 40. ed. Upton. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1728.

The following is the French Version of this Passage, "Elle fut dans les temps postérieurs fort négligée. Personne n'a pensée sans doute à faire ce parallèle, (de cette nouvelle élocution avec l'ancienne) il ne soutiendrait pas jusque à la fin la lecture de tous les ouvrages que nous on laïsse *Plutarque*, Duris, Polybe, &c. &c." The mistake of Plutarch for *Phylarchus* is alone sufficient to prove the indispensable necessity of the

"*Integros accedere fontes*,"

(*Lucret. 1.—926.*)

and of tracing authorities up to their source.——The Baron de St. Croix wishes to substitute the word Ψάμιος for Ψάων, and to apply it to Duris, who he says, was always distinguished by this addition, but for this reading, a violent transposition will be requisite, as well as a correction of the Text, and there is not certainly any occasion for either, as Diodorus Siculus expressly mentions an Historian of this name. "Ψάων δὲ ὁ Πλατάνιος τὰ πρὸ τούτου διὰ δέξαμιν πρᾶξις ἐργαῶν ἐβίβλετο τριᾶχοντα." Diod. Sicul. Elogia ex Lib. 21.—490. Tom. 2. Ed. Weß. Arnult. 1746.

had poured upon it, gradually receded, till it was totally extinguished in obscurity. That wretched species of adulation, which blasts every appearance of genius and cramps the intellectual faculties, was lavishly adopted under the Roman Emperors, and made a rapid progress towards general currency and usage. Actions almost below notice became the subjects of the declamations of the sophists, who described the most trifling circumstances in the most unnatural colours, and in a pomp of language wholly inconsistent with them. Lucian hath compared this phrensy to the epidemical fever of the Abderites,<sup>b</sup> who ran about the streets after

<sup>b</sup> The *Αβδηρα καλη των αποικια* was however proverbial, Vossius hath thus explained it. “*Teii cognita ubertate et amœnitate foli Abderitici, hanc suam coloniam pulchram appellarunt, ideoque omnes illuc migrarunt. Sed postea cognoverunt eam foli acrisque in hoc tractu esse naturam, ut non tantum equi et jumenta in vicinis pascuis degentes, aut bibentes ex Cossineto flumine in rabiem agerentur, verum etiam ipsos homines sæpe corripui infaniâ, plurimosque ibi nasci deliros. Hinc ironice dictum Abdera, pulchra Teiorum colonia.*” I. Vossius ad P. Melam. Lib. 2. C. 2.

Lucian hath endeavoured to account for this general phrensy on more rational principles, by supposing the Andromeda to have been represented by Archelaus a very popular tragedian, in the midst of summer, and under the influence of burning weather, to such crowded audiences as occasioned a violent fever in most of the spectators, who had the image of the Andromeda so strongly impressed on the brain, that in their delirium they were perpetually repeating it, “*Αιτιαν δε μοι δοκει τε τριετε παρασχειν, Αρχελαος ο τραγωδος, ευδοκιμων τοτε, μεσεντ ο θερος εν πολλω τω φλογμω τραγωδισας αυτοις την Ανδρομεδαν, ως παρεχει τε απο τε θεατρης τες πολλες, η ανασαντας υστερον es την τραγωδιαν παρολισθανειν, επιπολυ επιφοχωρησης της Ανδρομεδας τη μνημη αυτων, η τε Περσεως ετι συν τη Μιθεση, την εκασε γνωμην περιπετομενα.*” Quomod. Hist. Conscrib. fit. Tom. 2. 2.--3. 4<sup>to</sup> Amst. 1743.

Athenæus hath preserved the Fragment which was principally vociferated, and the curious reader may not be displeased to find it.



after the representation of the Andromeda of Euripides, repeating with violent agitations particular verses of this poet. Some extraordinary symptoms attended the complaint, but it was confined to the heats of summer and ended with it.

On the slightest skirmishes, details of them were given without end, teeming with incidents, that had no existence whatever, but in the disordered imaginations of their authors. Adding ignorance to effrontery, these chroniclers committed the most egregious faults, and erred in the most unguarded manner both against the laws of geography and tactics. After a most desperate battle, when victory had been long doubtful, the loss of the enemy was represented as immense, whilst that of the Romans was barely perceptible; and in one of these singular engagements, the former were stated to have had seventy thousand, and thirty-six<sup>c</sup> men

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killed,

“Σὺ δ’ ὦ Τυράννη θένων τε κ’ Ἀνθρώπων, ἔρως,  
 Ἥ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι καλὰ,  
 Ἡ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ,  
 Μοχθοῦσι μοχθοῦς εὐτυχὸς συνεκπονέι,  
 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὄρων τίμιος θεοῖς ἐστὶ,  
 Μὴ ὄρων δ’ ἵπ’ αὐτοῦ τε δίδασκεσθαι φιλεῖν,  
 Ἀφαιρεθῆση χάριτας αἷς τιμῶσι σε”

Athenæus, Lib. 13. 561. Fol. Lugd. 1612.

<sup>c</sup> In the French Text the number stands at, seven thousand, two hundred and thirty-six. Lucian's words are, “Τῶν μὲν πολεμίων, ἀποθανόντων μυριάδες ἑπτὰ, καὶ τριακόντα, καὶ ἑξὶ πρὸς διακοσίοις. Ῥωμαίων δὲ, μόνως δύο, καὶ τραυματίας γενέσθαι ἐνέα.” (Quomod. Hist. conscrib. sit. Tom. 2.--29.) but his Editors and Annotators have differed on the calculation. Reitzius hath translated the passage, “Hostium quidem cecidisse trecenties, et septuagies mille ducentos et sex: Romanorum

vero

killed, and the latter, only two men killed and nine wounded. From an immoderate rage for description, we have a laboured display of arms and military weapons, of fosses, bastions and bridges; and the common accidents of war are worked up in such a style, as to be more proper for the sock and buskin. In short, the writers of these times disfigured their relations with so many, and such extravagances, as often to have placed, to borrow one of Lucian's expressions, the head of the Rhodian Colossus<sup>d</sup> on the diminutive body of a dwarf.

This lively and judicious writer, that hath been just cited, after exposing with his usual poignancy the errors and defects of the historians of his days, hath established more solid rules, and pointed out a clearer method for such compositions. With a view of opposing a new and lasting barrier to the contagion of the times, and

*vero solos duo, faucios autem factos novem."* Gefner in his note upon the passage hath with more modesty reduced the number to seventy thousand, two hundred and thirty-six, but he adds with some pleasantry, "*Qui mentiuntur, tales minutias non curant,*"

<sup>d</sup> "Τὴ 'Ρωδίων Κολοσση τὴν κεφαλὴν νανῶδε σώματι ἐπιτιθεντας." (Quomod. Hist. conferib. fit. Tom. 2.--32.) The Rhodian Colossus, (for an account of which see Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 34. Sect. 18.—Strabo. Lib. 14.—Philostr. Vit. Apol. and also Scaliger. Animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon. No. 1794.—137.) was the work of Chares Lindius, the disciple of Lysippus, on which he was employed twelve years. It was finished about 278 years before Christ, and after standing fifty-six years, was overturned by an earthquake. Its remains still existed as late as the 672<sup>nd</sup> year of the Christian Era, when they were sold, on the capture of Rhodes by the Saracens. Notwithstanding the injuries this statue must have suffered, and the numerous depredations it must have been exposed to, the brass is said to have then loaden no less than nine hundred camels. Allowing each camel a load of eight hundred pounds, (Monf. Volney reckons the usual burthen about 750,) the whole must have weighed above 700,000 pounds.

and wishing to strip the fashionable style of the ascendancy, which it had usurped over the public opinions, his two books of real history were professedly undertaken. This work, which may be considered as an imaginary sketch, from its astonishing fecundity in those burlesque and gigantic ideas, which are scattered through it, with a prodigality almost without example, is in fact an ingenious fiction, intended to expose to general opprobrium those strange and monstrous productions, which were made up of history and romance, without being strictly either.

To fix perhaps the precise value of the works of every author, some knowledge of the age in which he lived is necessary, in order to appreciate the advantages that he was possessed of, what he owed merely to his own ingenuity and exertions, and to those of his cotemporaries. The observations on the fate of letters, as connected with the civil revolutions of states and governments that have been already made, appear to have partly answered the first of these ends, at least, as far as the historians of the life of Alexander are concerned; to the second, the result of a more particular examination of the historians themselves, will be more immediately applicable. But previous to any dissertation on these different historians, it may be requisite to estimate the degree of credit to which they are severally entitled, and to establish it with any certitude, the authorities from which they derived their informations must be resorted to. Where facts also rest upon traditions, whether oral or written, there will be an indispensable

penfable neceffity of purfuing them back as far as poffible, and of afcending to the firft evidences which are acceffible.

That enthufiafm, which is born in feafons of profperity, and dies when they difappear, that enthufiafm, which, in moments of national intoxication, produces fuch rapid and aftonifhing fuccelfes, had undoubtedly fired the imaginations of the companions of Alexander's arms and their cotemporaries. Yet this factitious and temporary fervour was but in reality the phofphorus, which exhibits an apparent flame without its moft effential qualities.—It naturally occafioned a multitude of writings, where the marvellous rather feduced the underftanding than affected it with any powerful emotions, and amazed it, without leaving on it any durable or lafting impreffions.—Strabo informs us, that this love of the marvellous had fo captivated almoft all the hiftorians of Alexander, that there were not any of them wholly free from this epidemic infection, or who made any hesitation at the facrifice of truth to it, wherever they interfired<sup>e</sup> with each other.

Callifthenes,<sup>f</sup> Oneficritus, Hegefias and Clitarchus, feem to have

<sup>e</sup> “Cet amour du Merveilleux s'étoit emparé, felon Strabon, de la plume de prefque tous les hiftoriens du conquerant de l'Asie; aucun d'eux ne fut entierement exempt de ce defect epidémique.” Strabo's expreffion in the paffage referred to, is, “Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, το θαυμαστόν αὐτῷ τὰ ληθεύς ἀποδεχόμενοι.” (Lib. 15.—1022.) A fentiment that I have added.

<sup>f</sup> Callifthenes fucceeded Aristotle as preceptor to Alexander, and afterwards attended him in his oriental expedition. Cicero had but a mean opinion of his hiftorical talents, as may be gathered

have been the authors of numerous mistakes, and we know by experience, that they are always propagated in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and disposition of the succeeding writers who transcribe them or adopt them. At this distance, we must rely on the judgment which the ablest critics of the ancients have passed on their respective works, and the opinions which they entertained of them.—It was undoubtedly the intention of Callisthenes<sup>s</sup> to magnify the actions of Alexander, and to augment his glory by a style as little adapted to history as to real eloquence. “Some expressions of Callisthenes,” says Longinus, “do not shine like stars, but glare like meteors.”<sup>h</sup> The judicious criticism of Polybius, on his description of the battle of Issus, shall be hereafter mentioned.—With equal ignorance in tactics, and superstition, which in a philosopher is extraordinary, Callisthenes relates, according to Strabo, that “Alexander having learnt that Perseus and Hercules had visited the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, began his march with the same emulation, from Parætonium, and though strong southerly

gathered from two of his expressions. “Callisthenes comes Alexandri, scripsit historiam; et hic quidem rhetorico pene more.” (De oratore, Lib. 11. Sec. 14.) “Itaque ad Callisthenem et Philistum redeo: in quibus te video volutatum. Callisthenes quidem, vulgare et notum negotium,” Epist. ad Q. Fratrem. Lib. 11. Epist. 13.

<sup>s</sup> “Οικουν αυτος αφιχθαι απ’ Αλεξανδρου δοξαν κτησομενος, αλλα εκεινον ευκλεα es ανθρωπους ποιησαν. και ουν και του θειου την μετουσιαν Αλεξανδρω ουκ εξ ων Ολυμπιας υπερ της γενεσεως αυτου ψευδεται ανηρτησθαι, αλλ’ εξ ων αν αυτος υπερ Αλεξανδρον συγγραφας εξενεγκη es ανθρωπους.” Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. 283. 8<sup>vo</sup> Edit. Amst. 1757.

<sup>h</sup> Smith’s Longinus. Sect. 3<sup>rd</sup>.—10.—“Και τινα των Καλλιθενος, οντα εχ υψηλα αλλα μετεωρα.” Dion. Long. Sec. 3. 40. 4<sup>to</sup> Lond. 1724.



fourtherly winds opposed his progress, and he lost his way amidst clouds of sand, he was preserved by showers of rain and by two ravens, who served him for guides and pointed out to him the road.<sup>1</sup> These circumstances were dictated by flattery, and the following ones resemble them. The Monarch had alone the privilege allowed him, of entering the temple in his usual dress, the rest of his companions being ordered to change theirs, and to wait the answer of the Oracle at the doors.—Its responses instead of being delivered by the priest verbally, like those of Delphi and Branchus, were in a great measure communicated by signs and nods, in imitation of the Jupiter of Homer.”

Who spoke, and awful bent his fable brows,  
Shook his ambrosial curls, and gave the nod,  
The stamp of fate, and sanction of the God.

POPE.

“The Monarch was however expressly told, that he was the son of Jupiter. In a more tragic and exaggerated style,  
Callisthenes

<sup>1</sup> A modern essayist might spin out a curious dissertation on the subject of these winged pioneers. I am in doubt whether crows (See Langhorn's Plutarch Vol. 4. 260.) or ravens are to be understood, but the latter being more respectable Gentlemen, I have made choice of them for the office. Plutarch, without specifying their number hath given us more at large the story of the crows or ravens, and their services, but he observes they were rather wonderful, an indirect method of attacking the credit of the whole. “Επειτα των ὄρνων οἱ περ ἦσαν τοῖς ὀδηγοῖς συγχυθέντων, καὶ πλανήσεως καὶ διασπασμῶν τῶν βαδίζοντων διὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν, κορακὲς ἐκφάνεντες ὑπελαμβάνον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς πορείας, ἔπομεναι μὲν, ἐμπροσθεν πετομένοι καὶ σπευδόντες, ἔξερυντας δὲ καὶ βραδυνόντας ἀναμένοντες· ὁ δὲ τὴν θαυμάσιωτόταν, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησιν, ταῖς φωναῖς, ἀνακαλουμένοι τοὺς πλανώμενους νυκτῶς, καὶ κλάζοντες, εἰς ἵχνη καθίσταν τῆς πορείας.” De vit. Alex. Tom. 1.—680. Ed. Francf. 1620.

Callisthenes adds, that Apollo had deserted the Oracle of Branchus since the temple had been pillaged by the followers of Xerxes, when its fountain failed; that it had again flowed, and that some Milesian envoys had brought to Memphis many of the Oracle's predictions, relative to Alexander the son of Jupiter, his future victory at Arbela, the death of Darius, and the Lacedæmonian political commotions. Athenais of Erythrea, another Erythrean Sibyl had before spoken of Alexander's illustrious origin.<sup>k</sup>

Was it by such a medley of fables and credulity, that Callisthenes flattered himself he should immortalize the Conqueror of Asia, and could such a ridiculous and turgid narrative bear any comparison whatever with that hero's actions? The philosopher

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indeed

<sup>k</sup> “Ὁ γὰρ Καλλισθένης φησι τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον φιλοδοξῆσαι μαλιστα, ἀνελθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ χρεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Περσεὺς ἤκεισε πρότερον ἀναδῆναι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ· ὁρμησάντα δ' ἐκ Παρκαίωνος καὶ περ νοτῶν ἐπιπίστοντων βιάσασθαι· πλανώμενον δ' ὑπὸ τῇ κοινῇ σῶσθαι γινόμενων ὁμῶν, καὶ δυσὶν κοραίων ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἥδε τῶν κολακευτικῶν λεγομένων τοιαυτὰ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· μόνῳ γὰρ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν ἱερεῖα ἐπιτρέψαι παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸν νεῶν μετὰ τῆς συνήθους γολῆς, τῆς δ' ἄλλης μετενδύειν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἐξωθεῖν τε τῆς δεξιᾶς ἀκροασσάσθαι πάντας πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τούτου δ' ἐνδοθεν εἶναι· ὡς περ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ Βραγχιδαῖς τὰς ἀποδιστώσεις διαλογῶν, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλεον· ὡς καὶ Ὁμήρῳ,

Ἡ, καὶ κτανέσιν ἐπ' ὄφρυσι νεύει Κρονίων.

τὴ προσφθετὴ τὸν Δία ὑποκρινόμενος· τούτο μὲντοι ῥητῶς εἶπεν τὸν ἀνδρῶπον πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα, ὅτι εἴη Διὸς υἱός· Προσραγῶν δὲ τούτοις ὁ Καλλισθένης, ὅτι τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τὸ ἐν Βραγχιδαῖς μαντεῖον ἐκλειποτό, ἐξ ὅτου τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὸ τῶν Βραγχιδῶν σεισλήτο ἐπὶ Ἐεξῆ περισιγάντων, ἐκλειποτίας δὲ καὶ τῆς κρήνης, τότε ἡ τε κρήνη ἀνασχοί, καὶ μαντεῖα πολλὰ οἱ Μιλησίῳ περισβῆς κομισθέντες εἰς Μελῖν περὶ τῆς ἐκ Διὸς γενέσεως τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης περὶ Ἀρβήλα νίκης, καὶ τῇ Δαρείῳ θανάτῳ, καὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ νεωτερισμῶν· περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐγενείας, καὶ τὴν Εὐρυδραίων Ἀθηναίων φησὶ ἀνέπειν· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁμοίαν γενέσθαι τῇ παλαιᾷ Σιβυλλῇ τῇ Εὐρυδραίᾳ.” Strabo, Lib. 17.--1168, 1169.

indeed designed to render the fame of Alexander dependent on his own abilities, and subservient to his interests; but led astray by his own vanity, he erred in the choice of his plan, and fell into disgrace. Yet we must do him the justice to acknowledge that he discovered great firmness of mind, when Alexander insisted on excessive and divine honours from his subjects. Callisthenes then comes forward as the august protector of the injured religion of his country, and the last and only champion of its liberty. But a moment's reflection on the precise period of this event, which was so soon followed by his imprisonment, will convince us, that he had no more to hazard, when he so courageously resisted the Macedonian monarch's inclinations, whose indignation he had already roused.—A striking and a memorable lesson for the writers of every age, who, forgetful of the duties, which they owe to their own times, to posterity, and to themselves, in vain endeavour to ally the low and little intrigues of the courtier with philosophical integrity and freedom!

Onesicritus of Ægina, a follower of Diogenes the Cynic, according to Diogenes Laertius, who seems to have been a mere compiler without taste, and to have confounded the first and second Cyrus, had written a history of Alexander on the model of the *Cyropædia*, which he probably supposed to be fictitious; but his falsities and fables have not left us any possibility of comparing him with the sage Xenophon. In imitation of the disciple of Socrates, who composed the memoirs of the younger Cyrus,



Cyrus, the scholar of Diogenes entered on those of Alexander. Though he had an excellent original, it was miserably copied; <sup>1</sup> and Strabo hath admitted that, of all the historians of Alexander, this cynic philosopher had advanced with the most consummate assurance, tales and paradoxes the most singular and absurd. <sup>m</sup> But perhaps it was by these means, that he expected to continue in the favour of the Macedonian monarch, who entertained him at his court, and carried him along with him, for the declared purpose of writing his history.—From such venal hands, have we to expect any thing but distorted facts in the narrative of Alexander's expeditions! Truth cannot stoop to any bribes, and where rewards are begged with importunity, they are notoriously the wages of corruption.

Hegefias, the Magnesian, first introduced into Greece, as Strabo informs us, <sup>n</sup> the Asiatic style of eloquence, which wastes,

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like

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius hath passed a less severe judgment on this unfortunate historian, "Και τη ἐρμηνεία δε παρ' ἀπληστίας πολλήν ὅτι ὡς ἀπογραφὸς ἐξ ἀρχετύπου δευτέρου." (Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--354. 4<sup>o</sup> Amst. 1709.) Little of the Archetype however seems to have been visible.

<sup>m</sup> Arrian hath recorded a very particular instance of the historical fidelity of Onesicritus, and in a fact, of which there could be no doubt. "Τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ νέως κυβερνήτης Ονησικρίτος, ὃς ἐν τῇ ζυγγραφῇ τὴν τινὰ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυνεγραφε, καὶ τοῦτο εἰσηγαστο, νεωτέρου ἑαυτὸν εἶναι γραφῆας, κυβερνήτην οὐκ ἔστι." (De Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 2.--409.) Strabo styles him, "Οὐκ Ἀλεξάνδρου μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν παρὰ δόξαν Ἀρχικυβερνήτην." and adds, "ὑπερβλέσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ τοὺς τοσούτους ἐκείνους τῇ τερατολογίᾳ." Strabo, Lib. 15.--1022.

<sup>n</sup> "Ὡγησίας τε ὁ ζητῶς, ὃς κέρξεται τῇ Ἀσιανῶν λεγόμενου στυλοῦ, περὶ ἀφθειρας τοῦ κατὰ δεσηκῆος ἐξὸς τοῦ Ἀτῆ." Strabo, Lib. 14.--959.

like a courtesan, every artifice to enliven the passions that habit had pallied. He was an orator and an historian, two professions which form at all times a dangerous combination, where a correct taste is not generally established, and its limits perfectly defined. His orations were equally faulty in sentiment and in expression; and when he exercised himself on history, his style was broken and unequal, and full of puerile embellishments.<sup>o</sup> Photius hath preserved some fragments of Agatharcides, in which he had keenly censured the works of Hegesias, and ridiculed both his description of the siege and capture of Thebes, and his method of deploring the misfortunes of its inhabitants. “Adversity rendered the place mute that was vociferous.”—“Thou hast acted, Alexander, in destroying Thebes, as if Jupiter had torn the moon from one quarter of the heavens.”—“The Macedonian phalanx having entered the walls of Thebes, sword in hand, deprived the city of existence: here was its grave, there was death.”<sup>p</sup>

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<sup>o</sup> This is nearly Cicero’s opinion. “Et is quidem non minus sententiis peccat quam verbis.” (De orat. 67. Tom. 1.—478.) “Charisii vult Hegesias similis esse. At quid est tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipsâ, quam tamen consequitur, concinnitate puerile.” (De claris oratoribus, 83. Tom. 1.—406.) Plutarch hath handed down to us one of these puerile conceits relative to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, which was burnt in the night that Alexander was born. “Εἰκοτὼς γὰρ εἶπεν καταφλεχθῆναι τὸν ναὸν, τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος ἀχολουμένης περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μαιώσιν.” The observation that he makes is, “Ἐπιφώνημα κατασβεσθαι τὴν πυρκαϊάν ἐκείνην ἔπο ψυχρίας δυναμένον.” (De vit. Alex. Plut. opera, Tom. 1.—665.) I do not know whether the observation on the sentiment, or the sentiment itself, is most exceptionable.

<sup>p</sup> “Τὸν γὰρ μέγιστα φωνήσαντα τόπον, ἀφώνον ἢ συμφορὰ πεποίηκε” ————— “Ὁμοίον πεποίηκας, Ἀλεξανδρε, Θηβας κακασκεψας, ὥς αν εἰ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ Οὐρανὸν μεγίδος ἐκβαλοὶ τὴν σελήνην” —————

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It is not without some reason, that Agatharcides hath observed, this miserable sophist appears to have mentioned this event rather to display his own wit, than to commiserate the lamentable fortune of the Thebans. <sup>a</sup>

Longinus tells us, that Hegesias appeared in his own opinion to consider himself as inspired, but instead of being influenced by any divine impulse, he trifled like a child; <sup>r</sup> and in short, Dionysius Halicarnassus pretends, that there is not a single well-turned period in all his works. <sup>s</sup> A fragment is selected on the siege of Gaza and punishment of Betis, as an example of his poverty of style; and he compares his relation of the tragical end of Betis, with Homer's account of the ignominious treatment of Hector's dead

“ Η δὲ φαλαγγὶς τῶν Μακεδόνων εἰσβιασάμενη τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐντὸς τειχοῦς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεκτενεῖν· ἐκεῖ μὲν τὰ φη πόλεως, ἐνταυθα δὲ θάνατος.” — (Photii Bibliotheca, 1336. 1337. Fol. Rothomag. 1653.) The three passages are here given in the same order as the reader will find them on a reference to Photius. The Baron de St. Croix had transposed them. “Arracha la vie à cette ville,” are the words of the French translation. The Greek original may bear the hyperbole, but I have softened the expression.

<sup>q</sup> “ Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν σκαπτέιν καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς δοκεῖ διὰ τούτων οὐκ ολοφύεσθαι τῶν πολέων τὴν τύχην.” (Photii Bibliotheca, 1336.) Himerius seems to have copied Hegesias in his description of the capture of Thebes, (Photii Bibliotheca, 1080.) but the exploits of Alexander have been a fruitful subject for general declamation. The rhetorical flourishes of the elder Seneca, “Deliberat Alexander an oceanum naviget.” (Suafor, Tom. 3. Amst. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1672.) “Deliberat Alexander an Babyloniam intret, cum denuntiatum esset illi responso auguris periculum.” (Suafor, 4. Tom. 3.) are well known.

<sup>r</sup> “Πολλάχρ γὰρ ἐνθροῖαν ἑαυτοῖς δοκῶντες ἢ βακχεύουσιν ἀλλὰ παίζουσιν.” Dion. Longinus, Sect. 3.

<sup>s</sup> “ Ἐγγὺν ταῖς τοσαύταις γραφαῖς ὥς κατάλειποιεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, μίαν οὐκ ἀνέυροι τις σελίδα συλημένην εὐτυχώς.” Dion. Halicarnass. de structurâ orationis. 144.

dead body by Achilles, in the Iliad, which the Magnesian sophist had ridiculously imitated.\* Q. Curtius† seems not to have suffered this work of Hegesias to have escaped his attention: he hath, notwithstanding, touched on the event without entering into any of its disgusting circumstances. Clitarchus, the son of Dinon, acquired some reputation in his own times, by the publication of his work on Alexander's expeditions; but a bloated style produces regularly exaggerated facts. “Clitarchus comes under

\* Dionysius Halicarnassius hath given us the passage at full length. “Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν τὸ σὺνταγμα πρὸς ἡγήτο, καὶ ὡς ἐβόησε τοὺς πολέμιους τοὺς ἀπαντανεῖσι. τὸ γὰρ ἐγνώστο, καὶ τὴν σάκην ἵναι συνεκβάλλειν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος. Ἦ μὲν οὖν ἐλπίς αὐτῇ συνεδραμεν εἰς τὸ τολμᾶν, ὥστε Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ δὲ ποτε κινδυνεύσει πρὸς τοὺς οὕτως. αὐτὸς γὰρ τῶν πολέμιων, εἰς ὅντα συγκυμφοῖς, εὐδοξοῦσε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς ἰκετείας ἐνέκα πρᾶξαι. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν δ' εἶγος, μικρὸν ἐκνεύει τὸ ξίφος ἐνεγκαντὸς ὑπὸ τῇ πτερύγῃ τῇ δεξιᾷ, ὥστε γινεσθαι καὶ τὴν πληγὴν οὐ κακίστην. Ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε, κατὰ κεφαλῆς τυπτὰς τὴν μαχαίρην· τὰς δ' ἄλλας ὥσθ' ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιμαρτυροῦν ἔτω γὰρ ἕκαστος τὸν ἐλεον ἐξεγέρσεν ἢ τὴν τολμήσαντων ἀπονομίαν, τῶν μὲν ἰδόντων, τῶν δ' ἀκούσαντων· ὥστε ἐξαισχυλίσας ὑπὸ τὴν σάλπιγγα ἐκείνην τῶν βαρβαρῶν κατὰ κοπῆναι. Τὸν μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνιχνύων ζώντα λευκῶν καὶ φιλωτάς. ἰδὼν δὲ πολυσερκῶν, καὶ μέγαν, ὡς βόησαντα· μέγας γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ χροῖμα· μισήσας ἐφ' οἷς ἐβόηετο, καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐκέλευσε δια τῶν πῶν χαλκῶν καὶ ἄλλων βίβαντας, ἔλκειν κυκλῶ γυμνῶν. Πιλεμένῳ δὲ κακοῖς περὶ πολλὰς τραχυτήτας ἐκείνῳ. αὐτὸ δ' ἦν ὁ λέγων, τὸ σὺνταγμα ἀνθρῶπος. ἐπετεῖνε μὲν γὰρ ὁ ὄντος, βαρβαρὸν δ' ἐὼς δεσποτῆν, καὶ ἰκετεῶν· γέλαν δὲ ὁ σολοικισμὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ κυτὸς τῆς γὰρ, ἐνεφάνη Βαβυλωνίων ζῶν ἑτέρῳ ἄνθρωπον. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐχ ὅσον ἐπεκρίβε, ἐρατῶς τικτὴν ὕψιν ὕψιζων, εἶδε χθὴ καὶ τῷ τῷ σκαλῶν ἐχθρῶν.” (De structura orat. 146.) But I do not find the observation that “Il compare cette manière de raconter les faits aux traitemens ignominieux qu'Achille fait effuyer au corps d' Hector,” is well founded, and I have therefore adopted the sense of the Greek original. Dionysius Halicarnassus drew only a parallel between the two descriptions of the punishment of Betis, and the indignity offered to Hector's body; and had no intention whatever of comparing the sophist's manner of relating facts, to the disgraceful conduct of Achilles. He adds indeed and with strict justice, “Ὅς δὲ Μαχρὸς εἰσῆκεν, ὡς ὑπὸ ἡναικῶν κατεπαγῶν ἀνθρώπων λεγοίτην, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν μετὰ σπῆδος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ καὶ καταγέλῳ.” De structura orat. 153.

\* Q. Curtius, Lib. 4. C. 6.

under this censure," says Longinus, "still more, who blusters and blows, as Sophocles expresses it,"

"Loud founding blasts, not sweeten'd by the stop." \*

The judicious author of the treatise, attributed to Demetrius Phalereus, hath confirmed with his authority the opinion of Longinus, and hath laughed at this writer's unnatural conceits and pomp. <sup>y</sup> Cicero expressly reproaches Sisenna <sup>z</sup> with his puerile manner, and declares that this Roman chronicler seemed, of all the Greek authors, to have been only acquainted with Clitarchus, whom he had imitated, and whose defects included in all likelihood, that glare, which hath been improperly termed ingenuity, and which hath often corrupted talents of more than common expectation. The narrative of Clitarchus was most probably full of this seductive glitter, so fatal to the progress of letters,

and

\* Smith's Longinus, 10. "Και ἐτι πολλὸν Κλειταρχε· φλοιωδὴς γὰρ ὁ αὐτοῦ, καὶ φυτῶν κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα,

Οὐ σμικροῖς μὲν αὐλισκοῖσι—

—φοβεῖαι δ' αὖτε." Longinus, Sect. 2.

Cicero in his epistles to Atticus, (Lib. 2. Epist. 16.) hath cited the whole passage.

"Φύσα γὰρ ἢ σμικροῖσιν αὐλισκοῖς ἐτι,

Ἀλλ' ἀγρίαις φύσαισι φοβεῖαι δ' αὖτε."

<sup>y</sup> A pompous description of the wasp or hornet is particularly censured. "Ὁ Κλειταρχος περὶ τῆς τεντρηδὸνος λεγὼν, ζῶε μελισσὴ εὐκοτος, κατανέμεται, μὲν φησι, τὴν ὀρεινὴν εἰσιπτάται δὲ εἰς τὰς κοίλας δρυς— ὥσπερ περὶ βοῶς ἀγρίου τῆ Εὐρυμανθίᾳ καπερ λεγὼν, ἀλλ' ἔχει περὶ μελισσῆς τινος." Demetrius Phalereus, Sect. 330. 331.

<sup>z</sup> "Is tamen neque orator in numero vestro unquam est habitus, et in historiâ puerile quiddam confectatur: ut unum Clitarchum, neque præterea quemquam, de Græcis legisse videntur: eum tamen velle duntaxat imitari." Cicero, de legibus, Lib. 1. Sect. 2. Tom. 3.--117. Ed. Olivet. 4<sup>to</sup> 1740.



and always announcing their decline; and it is perhaps in this sense, that Quintilian is to be understood, when he informs us that this historian of Alexander was admired for his genius, though his veracity was universally decried.<sup>a</sup>——But the Rhetoricians arrogated to themselves, if we are to believe Cicero,<sup>b</sup> the privilege of lying with impunity, from the avowed motives of giving spirit to their works; and Clitarchus justifies the propriety of the observation, as may be proved from many instances, that Strabo, Pliny, and a crowd of the ancient authors have recorded of him.——All these fabulous traditions, exaggerated facts, hyperbolical and improbable relations, with the imaginary descriptions of battles and of sieges, that Alexander's historians adopted, were in general borrowed from Callisthenes, Hegesias, Clitarchus, Onesicritus, Megasthenes and Daimachus, and they were more eagerly resorted to from the corruption of the public taste, and the numerous admirers of such extravagances, whose clamorous applauses overpowered any censures of their folly and absurdity.——It is not undoubtedly from this tribe of writers that we are to be supplied with any faithful memoirs of the life and actions of Alexander.——They will form a separate and distinct class, which must be afterwards considered.——Let not however the most audacious Pyrrhonism pretend to confound the authentic monuments

<sup>a</sup> “Clitarchi probatur ingenium fides infamatur.” Quintil. Inst. orat. Lib. 10. C. 1.--500. Ed. Gefner. 4<sup>to</sup>. 1738.

<sup>b</sup> “Concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint argutiùs. ——Sic Clitarchus.” Cicero, de claris oratoribus. Sect. 11. Tom. 1.--345.

monuments that have been left us, with those, which adulation and a love of the marvellous have alone erected. Without endeavouring to discriminate truth and falsehood, but willingly acquiescing in the malicious inclination of blending them both together, let us not suppose the exploits of the conqueror of Asia to have been as fabulous as the labours of Hercules; nor give credit to what has been asserted in a moment of paradoxical delirium, that the Macedonian hero never penetrated into India.

The memoirs of Ptolemy and of Aristobulus, deserve the first places amongst those works which have any pretensions to distinction: having been eye-witnesses of the facts, which they relate, these two generals of Alexander's army delayed their publications till this Prince's death, in order that flattery might not have any undue influence over them; and that truth might appear in their relations without either restriction or disguise. These prudential reasons, which we have on the faith of Arrian,<sup>c</sup> refute at once Lucian's story, that Alexander having listened to Aristobulus's account of his combat with Porus, enraged at such a mass of fables, ordered him to be thrown into the Hydaspes, crying out, "Thus ought you to have been served yourself, for pretending to describe my battles, and killing half a dozen elephants

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<sup>c</sup> "Εμοι Πτολεμαίου τε και Αριστοβουλος πιστοτεροι εδοξαν ες την κρηνησιν· ὁ μιν, ὅτι συνεστρατευτε βασιλει Αλεξανδρου, Αριστοβουλος, Πτολεμαιος δε, προς τω ξεστρατευσαι, ὅτι και αὐτω βασιλει οντι αισχροτερον η τω αλλω ψευτασθαι ην, αμφω δε, ὅτι τετελευτηκοτος ηδη Αλεξανδρου ξεστραφουσιν, ὅτε αὐτοις ἦτε αναγκη και ὁ μισθος του αλλως τι, η ὡς συννεχθη, ξεστραψαι απην." Arrian. Praefat. Exp. Alex. 2.



with a single dart."<sup>d</sup>——Lucian most probably intended to allude to Onesicritus, as he mentions a few pages afterwards, a conversation of the Macedonian Monarch's with this philosopher, in which he animadverted on the fulsome flattery of his biographers; and appeared anxious to know the sentiments that posterity would entertain of him, and of his actions. Alexander, it is well known, carried Onesicritus along with him as his historian, and the name of Aristobulus may have been inserted instead of that of the cynic philosopher, from some mistake of the author or his copyists.——This conjecture seems to be strengthened also by what Lucian says of the age of Aristobulus, who reached the extended period of ninety years, and with a wonderful strength of understanding, entered on the composition of his history at eighty-four.<sup>f</sup> Is it credible that Aristobulus at this advanced age, could have followed the Conqueror of Asia over such immense regions to the banks of the Hydaspes?

A journal of Alexander's exploits, had been reduced into form by Diodotus of Erythra, and by Eumenes of Cardia, who shared with Hephæstion the favours of his master, and was one of the ablest

<sup>d</sup> Franklin's Lucian, Vol. 2.—277. 8<sup>vo</sup> Edit. “Και σε δε ἔτιως ἐχρην, ὦ Ἀριστοβουλε, τοιαυτὰ ὑπερ ἐμὲ μονομαχῆντα, καὶ ἐλεφάντας ἐν ἀκοντίῳ φονεύοντα.” Lucian. Quomodo. Hist. conscribenda fit. Sect. 12. Tom. 2.—17.

<sup>e</sup> Lucian. Quomodo. Hist. conscribenda fit. Sect. 40. Tom. 2.—54.

<sup>f</sup> Et composa son histoire à 80. “Τὴν ἱστορίαν δὲ τεταρτὸν καὶ ογδοηκοσὸν ἐτῶν γεγονώς ηἰξάτο σιγᾶσαι.” (Lucian. Macrobian, Sect. 22. Tom. 3.—224.) which I have followed.

ablest and most unfortunate generals of his age. If we are to judge of this work, by the numerous fragments of it in several authors of antiquity ;<sup>\*</sup> it was both a very accurate and circumstantial narrative of the public and private life of the Macedonian Prince.

The itinerary of Alexander's army, by Diognetus and Beton, employed by this Monarch in the measurement of his marches, and the survey of the countries, that he passed through, would naturally have thrown a considerable share of light on the expeditions of the Conqueror of Asia, and the geography of the East. But this valuable work, which was not indeed neglected either by Aristobulus or Ptolemy, hath not escaped the ravages of time ; and the descriptions, which Alexander directed to be made of the different provinces of his empire by able and experienced persons, have been equally unfortunate.—Patroclus assures us, that these memoirs had been communicated to him by Xenocles the King's treasurer ;<sup>h</sup> and it is doubtless of these papers that the illustrious Corfini thus expresses himself, "The very exact descriptions, which Alexander directed to be made of his conquests, would have been of vast service to geography, and rendered it much more perfect."<sup>i</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup> Arrian. *Exped. Alex.* Lib. 7. Chap. 25.—Plutarch. *Vit. Alex.* Tom. 1.—706.—Symonides. Lib. 1. Tom. 2.—623.—Athenæus, Lib. 10.—434.—Ælian. *Var. Hist.* Lib. 3. C. 23.

<sup>h</sup> Strabo, Lib. 2. Tom. 1.—120.

<sup>i</sup> "Les descriptions exactes qu'Alexandre eut soin de faire de ses conquêtes, donnerent une forme

It is even reasonable to imagine, that a collection of Alexander's letters remained long after his death ; at least it must be allowed, that many of them had been made public, as they are cited by a number of the ancient authors. <sup>k</sup> If this correspondence had descended to us, it would certainly have placed in a still clearer point of view the military actions of this Prince, and unfolded to us more distinctly, the secret motives, that influenced his conduct, his manners and his character. Patroclus, Eratosthenes and Strabo, had severally made their observations on the historians of Alexander, but these treatises have also perished. Their labours would probably have rendered any other attempts of this kind useless ; and the age, in which they lived, undoubtedly afforded them superior advantages for such discussions. The fabulous traditions, which descend from one generation to another, gradually obscure the light of truth ; our efforts to discover it are enfeebled by our distance from the different events ; the gloom augments ; doubts accumulate ; systems rise ; our difficulties increase ; and we lose even by the flux of time those succours, with which it is impossible to be again supplied.

Cephalon, a native of Gergetha<sup>1</sup> in the Troad, abridged universal

forme beaucoup plus parfaite à la géographie." De l'origin. et des progrès de l'Astronom. Acad. des Sciences Anc. Mem. Tom. 8.--13.

<sup>k</sup> Plutarch. Vit. Alex. Tom. 1.--688. 689. 691. 696. 697.

——— Vit. Phocion. Tom. 1.--749.

——— De sui laude. Tom. 2.--545.

Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Chap. 24.--534.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, Lib. 13. Tom. 2.--882. Suidas hath confounded him with Cephalon the Rhetorician,

verfal history; and the work was distinguished by accuracy and by precision. Every digression was studiously avoided in it, and every recital that had not an immediate connection with the facts, that he had to explain or to describe. This history written in the Ionic dialect, and after the manner of Herodotus divided into nine books, each of which bears the name of one of the Nine Muses, was the fruit of unwearied application and immense researches. The last book, which had the title of Erato,<sup>m</sup> contained the exploits of the conqueror of Darius, and had been extracted with Herculean perseverance from no less than thirty different authors. What a rich banquet might it not have furnished?

A comparison of different and various evidence is the soul of rational inquiry.—Truth often rises amidst the shock of contending and contradictory opinions; whilst imposture acquires its only credit from the careless silence, or the accommodating concurrence of historians. Sopater made great use of Cephalon's abridgment in his account of Alexander, but even his researches have

cian, who lived under Adrian. Vide Suidas, Tom. 3.—305. Κεφαλίων. and also Vossius, de hist. Græcis, Lib. 11. Chap. 12.

<sup>m</sup> “Le dernier livre intitulé Uranie.” I have corrected this error, for on turning to the passage in Photius, which was referred to, the Greek sentence appeared to me to be evidently mistaken; “Συμπεραίνεται δε αὐτῇ ἡ ἱστορία ἐν λόγοις θ', κατ'ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν θ' ἑσῶν, Κλειῆς, Θαλειῆς, Πολυμνείας, Μελπομένης, Τερψιχόρης, Εὐτερεπῆς, Καλλιόπης, Ἐρατῆς, Οὐρανῆς, ἐν ᾗ (that is ἱστορία) καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα διειξέεισιν.” (Biblioth. 101.) I was happy afterwards to find I had the best of all authorities, the authority of Photius himself, for this construction. Speaking of Sopater, he says, “Ὁ δεκάτῃ δὲ συνθετοῖσθαι ἐκ τε τῶν Κεφαλίων Ἐρατῆς, διαλαμβάνουσης τὰ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον,” Biblioth. 341.

have not reached us. Chares, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Hecateus of Eretria, Duris of Samos, Nearchus and Timogenes have a just claim to the character of authentic writers, and their testimony is unexceptionable. If their successors had formed themselves after their example, and had employed the materials which they left them, we should have had great reason to have applauded their discernment; but the farther they deviated from these indisputable records, the more their authority becomes suspected.—In taking a view of what is not to be doubted on the subject of Alexander's historians, it may be necessary to enter into some circumstances relating to them.

Arrian of Nicomedia<sup>n</sup> lived under Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Antoninus;<sup>o</sup> and from having frequented the school of Epicletus he was a zealous advocate for its tenets. The same masterly hand, which sketched out the moral dissertations of Epicletus, is easily perceptible in the history of the Macedonian Conqueror; and even the speech, which Arrian puts into the mouth of Dandamis,<sup>p</sup> contains many of the sentiments, which are to be met

<sup>n</sup> See Tillemont. *Hist. des Emp.* Tom. 4.--453. Ed. 12<sup>mo</sup> and also Vossius, de *Hist. Græc.* Lib. 2. Chap. 11.

<sup>o</sup> Photii *Bibliotheca*, 53.—Eusebius *Chron. Canon*. Suidas. *Ag5720S*. Tom. 1.--320.

<sup>p</sup> "Dans la bouche de Calanus." There is a sort of constitutional vivacity, which sometimes hurries away men of real erudition, and occasions them a multitude of inadvertencies. With the French, this lively volatility is remarkable, and enters largely into the mercurial character of the nation. It is into the mouth of Dandamis that Arrian hath put this speech, and Calanus



met with in the collection of those of the Stoic Philosopher.<sup>4</sup> The most celebrated cities took an early opportunity of acknowledging his merit, and of enrolling him amongst their citizens.—Athens and Rome conferred this honour on him; and the latter intrusted him with the command of a body of its forces. The government of Cappadocia was given to him; and his courage and capacity were equally conspicuous in the protection of the Province from the Alani,<sup>5</sup> who made an irruption into Asia Minor, in the 17<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Adrian, and 134 years after Christ.—Arrian's services were afterwards rewarded with the Consular dignity.<sup>6</sup>

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is only celebrated for the firm and undaunted manner, in which he voluntarily committed himself to the flames, on the approach of infirmity and sickness; “Πρὶν τινος εἰς ψεῖραν ελθεῖν παθημάτων, ὃ, τι περ ἐξαναγκάσθῃ αὐτὸν μεταβαλλεῖν τὴν πρόσθεν διαίταν.” Arrian hath fairly stated, “Ὁν τινὰ μάλιστα δὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκράτορα Μεγασθένης ἀνεγείψεν.” but his method of winding up the affecting tragedy, “Ὅτω δὴ ἐπιβάντα τῇ πύρρῃ, κατακλιθῆναι μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ, ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ πρὸς τῆς σφαγῆς ζυμπασης.—Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπερὶ Κιλίκου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἱκανοὶ ἀναγεγείρασιν, οἳ καὶ ἀρχαῖα πάντα ἐς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτω γυναι ἐπιμέλεις, ὅτι ὥς καστέρων τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνίκητον γυνῆ ἀνδρωπινὴ ὃ, τι περ εἰλοὶ ἐξεργασασθαι.” (Lib. 7. Chap. 3.--481, 482.) seems to intimate that he did not altogether agree in opinion with Megasthenes.

Strabo hath given a long account of these ancient Bramins, but Dandamis hath there the name of Mandanis. Lib. 15. Tom. 2.--1042, 1043. 1044.

<sup>4</sup> Epictetus, Tom. 1. Lib. 1. Chap. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Arrianus de venatione. C. 1.--190. Ed. 8<sup>vo</sup> Amst. 1683.—Lucian Pseudomant. Tom. 2.--209.

<sup>6</sup> Without any diminution of Arrian's merit, we are informed by Dion. Cassius, that the persuasive arguments of Volgæsius had also their influence: “Τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τὰ μὲν ΔΗΡΟΙΣ ἔπο τοῦ Οὐολογαισίου πεισθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ Φλαβίου Ἀρριανοῦ τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρχόντα προβηθέντων.” (Lib. 69. 15. Tom. 2.--1163.) The Alani are here called “Τῶν Ἀλβανῶν,” and there is a very learned note upon the passage.

<sup>7</sup> Suidas. Ἀρριανός. Tom. 1.--320.—Photii Bibliotheca. 53.

The philosopher contemplates the conduct, the manners, and the genius of mankind, and takes into consideration the motives of human actions with the means, that are employed in their execution: his scrutinizing eye develops the rise, the progress and the fall of empires; but some military knowledge, joined to practical experience, seems necessary to describe the march of armies, and the operations of victorious generals. Few persons perhaps possessed these qualifications in a superior degree to Arrian; and his treatise upon tactics is an excellent abridgment of all that Greece knew upon the subject.\* The details, on the regulation and evolutions of the phalanx, into which he enters, are justly the admiration of all military men<sup>x</sup> for their perspicuity and precision; and the fragment, which remains, relating to his march and the order of battle against the Alani, evidently proves that he had taken up his theory from real service. Knowledge and talents of such magnitude are not easily concealed, and they discover themselves in the whole history of Alexander. Yet it is extraordinary, that the luminous manner, in which Arrian hath explained the manœuvres of the Macedonian army, hath even called his veracity in question. An able professional writer hath had the boldness to advance, that Arrian endeavours to give lessons upon tactics at the expence of truth, in the description of the battle of Gaugamele that he hath left us. “If our account of this battle,” says he, “was a real exercise on the art of war, the application

\* See the preface of Monf. Guiscard to his translation of Arrian's Tactics. 49.

<sup>x</sup> *Memoires militaires des Grecs et Romains*, par Monf. Guiscard, Disc. Prelim. 38.



application of all its grand principles could not be better brought before the eye."<sup>y</sup>——But because an army, when opposed to an undisciplined multitude upon equal ground, is said to have made the most judicious movements; are we to infer from this simple circumstance, that the account, which hath been given us by a master in the art of war, is the fruit only of his imagination, and the mere result of his own systems? Mons<sup>r</sup> Guiscard adds, "That he should never have attempted to doubt the authenticity of the circumstances of this battle, if Polybius had not treated the account of the battle of Issus by Callisthenes in the same manner."<sup>z</sup>——If Polybius hath however detected the impositions of Callisthenes, does the conclusion follow, that Arrian, who had the advantage of the memoirs of the generals of Alexander's army, hath forged what he related? With more justice possibly he may be open to some censure on his excessive vanity. It is indeed with singular ostentation, that he tells us there was not any necessity of his mentioning himself; that his birth, his country, and employments, were all well known; and in short, that he stood as high amongst the Grecian writers of eminence, as Alexander

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did

<sup>y</sup> "Cette bataille," says he, "fut-elle un vrai thème pour la theorie de l'art de la guerre? Tout cela ne presenteroit pas mieux sous un seul coup d'œil, l'application de ces grands principes." *Memoires milit. sur les Grecs et les Romains*, Tom. 1.--181.

<sup>z</sup> "Qu'il ne se feroit jamais avise de répondre des doutes sur l'authenticité des circonstances de cette bataille, . . si Polybe ne traitoit pas de même le recit que donne un certain Callisthene de la bataille-d'Iffus." *Mem. milit. &c. &c.* Tom. 1.--280.

did in a military line.<sup>a</sup> But perhaps this open and undisguised acknowledgment of his own consciousness of his literary merit hath some little claim to our indulgence.—It may be founded on some plausible pretensions to general approbation, and is in fact a weakness, that increases not unfrequently with the reputation, that a writer acquires in the public estimation. Arrian concludes his work with the information, that he had not inconsiderately engaged in it, but had been animated by a divine impulse to the enterprise.<sup>b</sup> In this species of superstitious enthusiasm we discover at once the priest of Ceres, whose functions Arrian had himself exercised.<sup>c</sup>

Ptolemy, the chief of the Lagides,<sup>d</sup> and Aristobulus were the principal guides, that Arrian followed; and Ptolemy seems to have had the preference,<sup>e</sup> though he has not copied either of them

<sup>a</sup> “Το μὲν οὐνομα οὐδὲν δεομαι ἀναγχαῖται, (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀγνώστον ἐς Ἀνθρώπους ἐστὶν) οὐδὲ πατρίδα ἥ τις μοι ἐστίν, οὐδὲ το γένος το ἐμόν, οὐδὲ εἰ δὴ τινα Ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ ἡρξά. ————— καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἀπαξίω των πρώτων ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἶπερ οὐν καὶ Ἀλεξανδρος των ἐν τοῖς σπλοῖς. Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 12.--50.

<sup>b</sup> “Οὐδὲ ἀνευ Θεοῦ” Arrian. Lib. 7. Chap. 30.--546.

<sup>c</sup> See Dodwell, de ætate, Periplus maris Euxini. Sect. 8.

<sup>d</sup> “Ptolemy's mother was Arsinoë. Being with child by Philip of Macedon, she was married to Lagus, and Ptolemy was in consequence called the son of Lagus. He had a principal command under Alexander, and afterwards obtained the kingdom of Egypt.” Pausanias, Attica. 14. 15.

<sup>e</sup> “Ὡς λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγού, ὃ μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἐπομαι” Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. Chap. 2.-409.

them fervilely, or without consideration. He hath extracted also from other historians every thing relating to Alexander, that he thought worthy of preservation, and not altogether destitute of probability, though only founded on report. ‘—This may not be strictly justifiable; but the proper moments for investigation are not those of enthusiasm, when the fever of imagination runs too high for calm and dispassionate inquiry.

Arrian informs us there was not any person that had so many historians, or so many contradictory ones as Alexander, and he finishes his preface with the following sentence; “And if any now wonder why, after so many writers of Alexander’s acts, I also attempt the task, and endeavour to elucidate the same, after he has perused the rest, let him proceed to the reading of mine, and he will find less cause of wonder than before.”<sup>8</sup>—Drawing our

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observations

“Lorsqu’ils ont rapporté des choses dignes d’être conservées, et qui pouvoient passer pour croyable, parce que selon lui, elles concernoient Alexandre, voila une logique pitoyable.” I flatter myself I have correctly given Arrian’s sentiments, and I confess I see nothing of that miserable logic, with which he is reproached. He does not mean to say, that he believed the reports because they related to Alexander, but that they did not appear to be entirely improbable, though founded only on common fame. “Ἐστὶ δὲ ἂν καὶ παρὰ ἄλλων συγγεγραμμένα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἀξιόφηγτα τε μοι εἶδοξαν, καὶ ἡ πικρὴ ἀπιστία, ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον ὑπερὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀνεγχεῖσθαι.” (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2.) In the learned note on this passage in the edition of Arrian’s *Expositio Alexandri*, 8<sup>vo</sup> Amst. 1757. the distinction between the “τὰ λεγόμενα μόνον” mere reports, and the “τὰ ὄντα” real facts, is extremely well explained. Tacitus, as is judiciously observed, hath nearly the same idea. “Ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos, procul gravitate cæpti operis crediderim: ita vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non auiam.” Tacit. 2. 50. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Rooke’s Arrian. Preface. Vol. 1. -2. “Ὅστις δὲ θαυμάσεται ἀνθ’ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοσοῖς δὲ συγγεγραφεύσι, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπιγενήθειν ἢ ἐσυγγραφῇ, τὰ τε ἐκείνων πικρὰ τις ἀναλεξαμένος, καὶ τοιοῦδε τοῖς ἡμέτεροις ἐνλυχνῶν, ὅλω θαυμάζει-  
των.”

observations from this passage along with that, which hath been already alluded to; the real motives, which engaged him to undertake the history of Alexander, may be guessed at.—The work itself is divided into seven books, but the last hath only come down to us in a crippled state. There is a deficiency, though not a very considerable one, which must have contained the flight of Harpalus, as appears from the abridgment, that Photius hath given us of this book, which in his time was still perfect and unimpaired.

This ingenious critic hath bestowed very liberal encomiums on Arrian's noble simplicity and clearness of style; and considering it as a very exact imitation of Xenophon, he will not allow of his being inferior to any of the great writers in history, that had previously distinguished themselves.—Photius commends also the narrative of Arrian for its precision without any tedious digressions; though perhaps that, which relates to the military bridges of the Romans, is not entirely clear of this objection. The parentheses, he adds, do not interrupt the narrative, which hath strong marks of eloquence; and indeed the harangue of Cœnus in the name of the Macedonian soldiers, fatiated with conquests and with glory, is certainly both very affecting and pathetic. Photius after having given Arrian a decided preference to all the other historians of Alexander, finishes his account of his writings with the

τω." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. 2, 3.) The Baron de St. Croix would read 'Ουτε, but Arrian afterwards makes use of the same expression. "Ὅστις δὲ κακίζει Ἀλεξάνδρον—ἔτω δὲ ἐκλογιζέσθω." Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 30.—545.



the declaration, that on weighing his merits with those of the ancient historians in general, many of them will be found unequal to him<sup>h</sup>.—Yet it would be uncandid to conceal, that Arrian's inclinations to exalt his Hero, to represent as favourably as possible those actions of the Macedonian Monarch, which may be justly censured, and to exaggerate his successes, are very evident.—Not satisfied with raising Alexander above all other conquerors, he assures us that he is no less illustrious than Minos, Eacus, and Rhadamanthus, the sons of Jupiter; and supposing even this comparison of his Hero with the venerable judges of the shades still gave too faint an idea of him, he extends it to Theseus the son of Neptune, and Ion, the son of Apollo.—Allowing for this momentary glow of enthusiasm, Arrian on the whole seems to have possessed a sound and discriminating understanding in the discussion of the several facts, which he hath related; to have adopted them only after a cautious examination of them; and even in some instances to have condemned Alexander with severity. On the subject of a letter, written by the Prince to Cleomenes, who then commanded in Egypt, in which, though he disapproved of his conduct, he assured him of a pardon not only for those crimes that he had already committed, but for any future

<sup>h</sup> “Photius apres avoir placé Arrian au-dessus meme de plusieurs anciens historiens finit par lui donner la preference sur tous ceux qui avoient ecrit l'histoire d'Alexandre.” The fact is substantially exact, but is not correctly related. Photius first expresses himself of Arrian, “Ουτος δε συνταττει παντων αμεινον η τα κατα Αλεξανδρον του Μακεδονα” (Biblioth. 52.) And he finishes what he says of him with “Και απλως, ει τις κατ'αυτον επι τους ιστορικους αναχθειη λογους, πολλους και των αεχαιων ιδοι της αυτης ταξεως ισταμενους ταπεινοτερον” (Biblioth. 228.) which is the arrangement that I have observed.

ture ones, provided he found at his return temples and monuments erected to the memory and in honour of Hæphestion, Arrian rises indignant at such a shameful compromise, and declares with an honest zeal, that he cannot palliate a promise of this sort to such a culprit. But this is not the single instance in which he hath reflected on the Conqueror of Asia: he concludes in the following terms, “And though I take the freedom in this history of his actions, sometimes to censure him, yet I cannot but own myself an admirer of them altogether: I have, however, fixed a mark of reproach upon some of them, as well for the sake of truth, as the public benefit; upon which account, by the assistance of Providence, I undertook this work.”<sup>1</sup>—A few geographical errors occur undoubtedly in Arrian, but if we compare them with the multitude, that all the other historians have fallen into, they will appear very trivial, and we shall be rather surprised they are so trifling and so few; considering the difficulties, that he had to struggle with, and the intricacies in which his predecessors had involved him.—Without any hesitation we may therefore give him a decided preference, and after having distinguished himself as a writer, a general, and a philosopher, he may be justly reckoned the first historian of Alexander’s actions, and the only one on whose authority any confidence is to be placed.

Without

<sup>1</sup> Rooke’s Arrian, Vol. 1.--200, 201. “Επει και αυτος εμεμφαμην εστιν α εν τη ξυγγραφη των Αλεξανδρου εργων, αλλ’ αυτον γε Αλεξανδρον ουκ αισχυνομαι θαυμαζων· τα δε εργα εκεινα εκανιστα, αληθειας τε ινεκα της ιμης, και αμικ ωφελειας της επ’ ανθρωπους· εφ’ οτω ωξμηθην, ουδε αυτος ανευ Θεου, ες τηνδε την ξυγγραψην” Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Chap. 30.--546.

Without entering into any argument, as to the precise time when Plutarch lived; it may be sufficient to observe, that Eusebius mentions this philosopher in the 224<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, 120 years after Christ; and that the particular circumstances relating to him, are too well known to be repeated.—His life of Alexander cannot be supposed by any means to be a regular and continued history of this Prince's actions; those of great men being in general a sort of portraits, where the colouring is very high, and the likeness hath frequently a brilliancy, which exceeds even that of the original.—The great historian seems to collect facts for the sole purpose of giving lectures on morality, and relates only that he may have an opportunity and a pretence for his reflections. A plan of this nature is inconsistent with historical accuracy, and it hath necessarily confused his different recitals. The principal public events are often abandoned, or barely touched upon, that more pains may be taken with the private life of the Hero; but it must at the same time be acknowledged, that the Monarch's inclinations and his character are distinctly marked, notwithstanding the historian's visible partiality for him, and the many fables that escape from him.—Aware of the probability of being accused of an excessive minuteness in his details; he endeavours to explain away the objection in some preliminary remarks, which may serve as a preface to the lives of Alexander and of Cæsar. "We shall only premise, that we hope for indulgence though we do not give the actions in full detail and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary; since we are not writing histories  
but



but lives. Not is it always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeness in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears, and run over the rest with a more careless hand; so we must be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a real likeness of these great men, and leave to others the circumstantial detail of their labours and achievements."<sup>k</sup>

Amongst many other authors, Callisthenes, Aristobulus, and Onesicritus appear to have furnished Plutarch with his materials for the life of Alexander.—His parallel of this Prince with Cæsar hath unfortunately perished, but Appian, who in fact merely compiled his work from Plutarch's historical productions, hath in some measure supplied the loss by the comparison, that he

<sup>k</sup> Langhorn's Plutarch, Vol. 4.--223. "Οὐδὲν ἄλλο πρὸς οὐροῦμεν, ἢ περὶ αἰτητομένης τοὺς ἀντιπαρα-  
κόντας, ἐν μὴ πάντα, μὴ καὶ ἑκάστου ἐξείργασμενως τι τῶν περιβητῶν ἀπαγγέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιτεμνοντες  
τὰ πλεῖστα, μὴ σικοφαντεῖν· οὐτε γὰρ ἰσορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίης· οὐτε ταῖς ἐπιφανέσταταις πράξεσι πάν-  
τως ἐνεστὶ δὴλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλὰς καὶ ῥῆμα, καὶ παῖδια τις ἐμφασιν ἡδὺς  
ἐποίησεν μᾶλλον, ἢ μάχαι μυριονεκεῖς, καὶ περὶ ταῖς αἰμαίνεσσι καὶ μεγάλαις, καὶ πολιορκίαις πόλεων· ὥς περ οὐκ οἱ  
ζῶντες αἱ ἀμοιότητες ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν οὐσιν εἰδῶν, οἷς ἐμφανίζεται τὸ ἦθος, ἀντανα-  
βάνουσιν, ἐλαχίστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες· οὕτως, ἡμῖν δοτεὶν εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐν-  
δεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἑκάστου βίον, ἐκαστὸς τὰ μετὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας." Plu-  
tarch, de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.—664. 665.

he hath left us of the two Conquerors, which is apparently an extract.<sup>1</sup>

Two discourses concerning Alexander remain to be taken notice of, that have been attributed to this philosophical historian. In the first, the Macedonian Prince is supposed to answer the reproaches of fortune for the obligations, which she had conferred upon him, from whom he is unwilling to acknowledge that he had received any favours. The Monarch is afterwards compared to the most eminent philosophers: his words and actions are said to have been formed on the purest principles, and his practice to have been superior to the theory of their first and most celebrated schools.

The second contains only a flat and fullome panegyric on nearly the same subject, in the form of a tedious and insipid dissertation. Its author is determined to prove his Hero superior to the fickle deity, who is represented as Alexander's implacable enemy; but some circumstances are introduced, that have no connection with the object immediately in view, and particularly those concerning Dionysius of Syracuse, and Clearchus the tyrant of Heraclea. The Macedonian Monarch is made to rival Agamemnon, and the issue of the contest may be easily divined.

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With

<sup>1</sup> “Αμφω γὰρ γενεσθὴν φιλοτιμοτάτῳ τε πάντων καὶ πολεμικώτατῳ, καὶ τὰ δοξάντα ἐπελθεῖν ταχύντατῳ, πρὸς τε κινδύνους παρὰβολώτατῳ, καὶ τὴ σωματος ἀφειδεσθῆναι, καὶ ἡ στρατηγία πεποιθετοὺς μάλλον, ἢ τολμή καὶ τύχη.” Appian. Hist. Rom. de bellis civilibus. Lib. 2.--849. Ed. 8<sup>vo</sup> Amst. 1670. Where the parallel is continued to a great length.

With the ancients indeed, as well as the moderns, this rhetorical figure seems to have been adopted, as an easier method of adding to their Hero's reputation, or the indirect means of raising it at the prejudice of the character, which is brought into competition with it.—Whoever may have been the author of the latter treatise, it contradicts most certainly Plutarch in many instances; and from thence it may be inferred to have been rather some later sophist's, who wished to give it some little credit by passing it on the public for Plutarch's. The catalogue which Lamprias, the son of Plutarch, hath given us of all his father's works, in which only one of these discourses on the fortune of Alexander, is mentioned, probably a juvenile performance, seems to strengthen this supposition.—From the life of Alexander, Plutarch hath an undoubted right to a distinguished rank amongst this Prince's historians, and he may justly be considered as the second author on the subject. Many of the transactions, which he relates, may be very serviceable in determining our opinions of the character of the Conqueror of Asia; but still the writer's prepossessions must be guarded against, and what he advances must be received with caution, where the accuracy is of any moment.

Diodorus Siculus, a native of Agyria in Sicily, flourished under Julius Cæsar: any further inquiries concerning his person or his writings would be superfluous.<sup>m</sup> Pliny tells us, that he was the first Grecian author who turned his thoughts towards serious things,

<sup>m</sup> See Vossius, de Hist. Græcis. Lib. 11. C. 11.—Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Lib. 3. C. 31.

things, and abandoned trifling ones ;" but this judgment is certainly a strange one, as the first five books of this historian are full of fables. Being superstitiously devoted to the doctrines of Euemerus, ° he ransacked the annals of various nations, and collected their religious traditions to strengthen only, by their authority, his own erroneous system. The first books of Diodorus Siculus, precious as they are from the facts which they have preserved, are still replete with a multitude of conjectures and contradictions, that greatly reduce their value ; and in the description of the countries that he mentions, he appears in general both a credulous naturalist, and an ignorant philosopher. Sometimes he doubts apparently of the truth of what he relates, whilst he does not hesitate immediately afterwards to give credit to the most extravagant absurdities. Under this impression, it is not unfair to suspect his accuracy ; and it may be reasonably supposed, that he hath misrepresented the several authors, to whom he was indebted for his information, from the manner that a passage of Herodotus relative to the Medes hath suffered in his hands, which

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may

" "Que cet ecrivain est le premier parmi les Grecs, que se soit occupe de choses serieuses, et qui ait abandonne les bagatelles." I am in doubt whether the "Apud Græcos desit nugari Diodorus, et βιβλιοθηκης historiam suam inseripât." (Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 1. Tom. 1.--10.) warrants this assertion in its extended sense.

° A philosopher of the Cyrenaic sect, for an account of whom, see Vossius, de Hist. Græcis, Chap. 11.—De Poetis Græcis, Chap. 8.—Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Tom. 1. Lib. 3. Chap. 28.--694, 717.—Bruckeri, Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. 1. P. 2. Lib. 2. Chap. 3. de sectâ Cyrenaicâ, 604, 606.—and also, Dr. Enfield's valuable history of Philosophy, Vol. 1. 189. with the authors referred to.

may be compared with the original.<sup>p</sup> We are at a loss for the motives on which the Roman naturalist founded his favourable sentiments of Diodorus, but perhaps he formed his opinion of the work from its preface. It offers to us, without a doubt, a correct plan of a great style of history; but unfortunately the interior parts of the edifice do not by any means correspond with its external magnificence and grandeur. In the other books, after a long excursion, he confines himself more closely to his subject, and there are fewer defects to be observed, or faults to censure. Yet the distance between this author and the ancient historians of Greece is still great, and the interval, that separates them, is immense.

The seventeenth book relates more particularly to Alexander, but the style is paltry, and the reflections, though few, are trivial. Diodorus Siculus never refers to any authority for the truth of what he advances; there are not any of the sources mentioned from whence he derived his intelligence; he is often inexact; and is not happy in the arrangement of his facts. In the first part of this book, which contains the events previous to the battle of Gaugamele, more pains have been bestowed, and more care hath certainly been taken: in the latter, an uncommon degree of negligence is very visible, and there is great difficulty in discovering any connection of the facts, and preserving the order of the marches

<sup>p</sup> Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscrip. et des Belles Lettres. Tom. 23.--31.



marches and expeditions of the Macedonian army. Chronology is also totally overturned, and the chasm in it naturally augments the obscurity, that arises from this confusion. The Scythian war, the Sogdian revolt, the death of Clitus with that of Callisthenes, the marriage of Roxana, and the early part of the Indian expedition are wanting in the text of Diodorus Siculus, and there hath not been any manuscript yet discovered, by which the deficiency hath been repaired.χ

Truths and falsehoods are generally told in the same tone by Diodorus Siculus, who seems neither solicitous to dazzle, nor anxious to surprize. If he possesses the merit of being directed in some moments by able and experienced conductors; at others, he hath wandered unconcernedly with Callisthenes, and hath faithfully copied his fabulous extravagances.<sup>p</sup> Notwithstanding these objections, this part of Diodorus Siculus may be useful in ascertaining many events of Alexander's life; and with a proper and continued attention, some real advantages may be reaped from it. Taking the whole together, Diodorus Siculus appears to be entitled to the third place amongst the Conqueror's historians.

The Latin authors, who undertook the history of Alexander, had not the benefit of happier times than the Grecian writers,  
who

<sup>p</sup> See Diodorus Siculus, Tom. 2.--218. and Wesseling's note on the "Ὁ καλεῖται μὲν Λιβύην" and also Tom. 2.--230. with Wesseling's notes on the "Ὅντας ἑκαταδρακτῆρας" and the "Τῶν δὲ κινήσεων."

who preceded them in the same career, and whose materials they employed. That verbose and tumid species of eloquence, which passed out of Asia to Athens, and like a malignant star had spread its contagious influence<sup>\*</sup> amidst all the young men of ingenuity and talents, made its way at last to the Roman citizens, who were then governed with a rod of iron.—A rage for declamation ruined the public taste, and added to it the last corruption, that it could possibly receive. Far from imitating the schools, where only the figures of the first and finest forms, and those of the best muscular proportions, are introduced as models,<sup>†</sup> the Romans contemplated in preference the servile attitude of some effeminate and affected courtier, and eagerly adopted a corresponding frivolous and unmanly method of expression. To the species of history immediately before us, the prevailing fashion was soon extended; and the Satirist Juvenal addressed himself to its admirers in the following passage.

“What luckier fate  
Does on the works of grave historians wait?  
More time they spend, in greater toils engage;  
Their volumes swell beyond the thousandth page:

For

<sup>\*</sup> Ventosa inthæ et enormis loquacitas ex Asiâ commigravit, animosque juvenum ad magna surgentes, veluti pestilenti quodam fidere afflavit. Petron. Arbit. Chap. 2.--11.

<sup>†</sup> “An vero statuarum artifices, pictoresque clarissimi cum corpora speciosissima fingendo, pingendoque efficere cuperent, nunquam in hanc inciderunt errorem, ut Bagoam aut Megabyzum aliquem in exemplum operis funerent sibi, sed Doriphoron illum aptum vel militiæ vel palestræ, aliorumque juvenum bellicorum et athletarum corpora, quæ esse decora vere existimarint.”

Quintilian, Inst. orat. L. b. 5. Chap. 12.—245.



For thus the laws of history command,  
And much good paper suffers in their hand.”<sup>t</sup>

DRYDEN’S TRANSLATION.

It was perhaps by these historical amplifications that Q. Curtius was seduced.—The learned world hath been much divided as to the exact period, in which this historian lived; and it has been supposed, though the supposition can have only few advocates, that he wrote his history in the last years of Constantine the Great.<sup>w</sup> Vossius fixes it with more probability under the reign of Vespasian,<sup>x</sup> and the learned Tillemont,<sup>y</sup> in that of Claudius; but without any decision of this question, it is sufficient to observe, that the style leaves us not any room to doubt of its being written, when the public taste was on its decline.

Father Tellier, of some memory, accuses Q. Curtius of having frequently reversed the order of geography and history; of an ignorance of tactics; of indiscriminately subscribing to truth and falsehood without either the inclination or abilities to separate them;

<sup>t</sup> “Vester porro labor fœcundior, historiarum  
Scriptores: petitur plus temporis atque olei plus:  
Namque oblita modi milleluna pagina surgit  
Omnibus, et crescit multa damnosa papyro.  
Sic ingens rerum nûmerus jubet, atque operum lex.”

Juvenalis, Sat. 7. Lib. 3.--98.

<sup>w</sup> L’Historico Ragionamento della gente Curzia et dell’eta di Q. Curzio, del Conte Bagnolo.

<sup>x</sup> G. Vossius de Hist. Lat. Lib. 1. Chap. 33.

<sup>y</sup> Hist. de Emper. 370.

them; of attaching himself rather to probabilities than realities; of affecting little pointed witticisms, and ridiculous subtilties in his maxims; and in short, of lavishing a profusion of poetical flowers in his descriptions; and converting his harangues into declamations.<sup>z</sup> This is a judgment which carries no inconsiderable share of censure, but it is the judgment of a commentator, and we cannot reasonably tax it with extraordinary severity. Yet we must not refuse to Q. Curtius the merits of a brilliant and fruitful imagination; of a warm and picturesque mode of colouring; and of a grace and energy, which hardly any of the modern languages can make their own.—The speeches of the persons, that he brings forward on the stage, are not ever without interest, and they are sometimes moving and pathetic. These are beauties, which would certainly command our approbation in any other work, where the stern austerity of history did not consider them as inadmissible.

Q. Curtius

Q. Curtius

Q. Curtius ingenuously avows, that he hath transcribed more events than he believed, and that he meant not to be responsible for those of which he doubted, but was unwilling to suppress.<sup>a</sup>

After

<sup>z</sup> “Geographiæ nonnunquam et historiæ rationes turbasse; parum scienter in præliis describendis fuisse versatum; non satis accurato delectu vera discrevisse à falsis; speciosa magis, quam certiora, sectatum esse; sententiarum aculeos affectasse plusculum; descriptionibus quandoque poeticos flores; orationibus declamatorium colorem adspersisse!” Præf. in edit. Q. Curtii, ad usum Delphini.

<sup>a</sup> “Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito; nec subducere quæ accepi.” Q. Curtius, Lib. 9. Chap. 1. Tom. 2.--676.

After such an acknowledged intimation, have we to expect any thing but a monstrous and mixed assemblage of truth and falsehood? Many learned men have imagined that he borrowed most of his relations from Diodorus Siculus, but it seems more probable, that Clitarchus, an author well known to the Romans, as appears from several passages in Cicero and Pliny, had been equally copied by these historians.—Q. Curtius however only cites him twice: in the first instance it is to refute Ptolemy. The valuable memoirs of this illustrious successor of Alexander were then, it seems, in being; but led astray by his love of the marvellous and a fondness for fables, Q. Curtius had given the preference to the recitals of Clitarchus, which agreed more with his own character and genius.

We are told that Nero gilt the statue of Alexander by Lyfippus, imagining to enhance its value: <sup>b</sup> Q. Curtius acted on the same principle, when he supposed that the flowers of his imagination would add a fresh wreath of glory to Alexander's laurels. But the Hero and the Artist lost by these foolish decorations.—The Roman historian gives way to an excessive passion for descriptions; and without considering whether they are connected with the incidents of which he treats, he frequently introduces

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them

<sup>b</sup> "Fecit et Alexandrum Magnum.—Quam statuam inaurari iussit Nero princeps, delectatus admodum illa. Dein cum pretio perisset gratia artis, detractum est aurum: pretiosiorque talis existimatur, etiam cicatricibus operis atque concisuris, in quibus aurum hæferat, remanentibus." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 34. C. 19. Tom. 5.—117. 4<sup>to</sup> Par. 1685.

them abruptly. In endeavouring to make his pictures brilliant they are incorrect: in attempting to enrich them, they become confused. When Lucian, in his directions for historical composition, recommended a sober chastity of expression in the account of mountains and rivers, <sup>c</sup> the ingenious critic in all likelihood had Q. Curtius before his eye, and particularly the episodical details, into which he enters respecting the courses of the rivers Marfyas, <sup>d</sup> Pasitigris, <sup>e</sup> and Zioberis in Hyrcania, <sup>f</sup> which engrossed his attention in preference to events of real consequence. From an insatiable fondness for these descriptions many important circumstances are neglected; and the war between Alexander and the nephew of King Porus is scarcely noticed, <sup>g</sup> though both Arrian and Strabo have mentioned it.—In the last two books, he passes indeed with such rapidity from one transaction to another, that we have reason to apprehend many essential facts have been either totally forgotten, or very much neglected.—The seasons, in which the different events happened, are only marked

<sup>c</sup> “Μαλιστα δε σωφρονητεον εν ταις των ορων, η τειχων, η ποταμων εξιμενειας, ως μη δυναμιν λογων απειροκαλως παρεπιδεικνυσθαι δοκοιης, κ̃ το σαυτε δεαν, παρεις την ισοριαν.” Lucian. Quom. Hist. conscrip. C. 57. Tom. 2.--65.

<sup>d</sup> Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--52.

<sup>e</sup> ——— Lib. 5. C. 3. Tom. 1.--328.

<sup>f</sup> ——— Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--406.

<sup>g</sup> “Hinc Poro amnique superato,” (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 1. Tom. 2.--670.) See Friensheim’s note upon the passage.

marked in a vague and obscure manner,<sup>b</sup> and of the several years we have not any indication whatever, but this disorder proceeds from his inaccuracy. Still is he less attentive to any geographical information,<sup>c</sup> and his authority in this respect may be with strict propriety rejected, whilst the explication, that he hath given of the eclipse of the moon, before the battle of Gaugamele, proves incontestably his ignorance of the common principles of astronomy.<sup>d</sup>—Adding to these observations the fables and exaggerations

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<sup>b</sup> The Baron de St. Croix hath produced the expression of “Sub ipsum Vergiliarum fidus,” (Lib. 5. Chap. 6. Tom. 1.--352.) as one instance of the uncertainty and obscurity of Q. Curtius. The Commentators have been much divided as to this expression, and have doubted, whether the rising or the setting of the Pleiades was to be understood. Their setting is now generally supposed to be intended, and indeed the passage of Plutarch in his life of Alexander, “Βελομένης δὲ τῆς σελήνης ἀναλαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἡ χειμῶν ὥρα) τέσσαρες μῆνας αὐτοῦ διηγὰγεν” (Tom. 1. 686.) seems to elucidate it very plainly, as Pliny informs us the “Vergiliarum occasus hyemem inchoat, quod tempus in 3. Id. Novembris incidere consuevit.” Hist. Nat. Lib. 2. Chap. 47. Tom. 1.--200.

<sup>c</sup> “De Curtio non laboramus, sæpe in geographicis aberrante.” Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. Tom. 2.--3. Le Clerc with more severity says, “Immania etiam sunt peccata, quæ in eum admisit Curtius.” Clerici Ind. de Curtio, Ars Critica. Tom. 2.--433.

<sup>d</sup> Monf. Dupuy remarks that Q. Curtius, “Après avoir décrit la consternation qui repandit dans l’armée d’Alexandre une éclipse de lune, observe que les divins Egyptiens, que ce prince fit consulter, favoient fort bien la raison de ce phénomène, mais qu’ils tenoient cachée au vulgaire.” “At illi,” “ce sont ses paroles,” “qui satis scirent temporum orbes implere destinatas vires, lunamque deficere quam aut terra subiret, aut sole pemeretur, rationem quidem ipsi perceptam non edocent vulgus.” (Lib. 4. Chap. 10. Tom. 1.--241.) “L’Historien a-t-il eù une idée bien nette de la cause des éclipses lunaires? Il semble, à l’entendre, que la lune peut s’éclipser en deux cas; ou lorsque “terram subit,” ou lorsque “premitur à sole.” On peut donner un bon sens à la première expression, parce qu’effectivement la lune s’éclipse lorsqu’elle passe sous la terre, “terram subit,” qui est entre elle et le soleil: mais qu’a-t-il prétendu, lorsqu’il a dit que la lune souffre éclipse “cum sole premitur,” lorsqu’elle est pressée par le soleil. Hist. de l’Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 29.--324.

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so familiar to him, perhaps there is not a single author of antiquity, that should be read with more reserve, or with greater care against the seductions of his language. His evidence for these reasons is to be received with very limited credit, and cannot possibly be opposed to that of the other historians of Alexander, and of Arrian in particular.

Justin, who may be referred to the age of Antoninus Pius,<sup>1</sup> hath left us an abridgment of the more extensive compilation of Trogus Pompeius; but he signs his own sentence of condemnation, in his preservation of the order and method of the original. Confusion in the narrative, and inaccuracy in the facts are the common faults of this Latin writer, who hath devoted the eleventh and twelfth chapters of his work to the exploits of Alexander. Pre-  
cision

The Jesuit Rader hath endeavoured to vindicate the historian, and to explain his meaning. "Curtius non rudis matheos, physicas rationes adfert defectionis lunæ, unam cum terram subit, alteram cum sole premitur. Una efficit eclipsen, altera silentium lunæ. Eclipsis fit in plenilunio, silentium in novilunio. Terram subit, cum in umbram terræ incurrit, non cum descendit ad inferius cælum, infra finitorem, quem Græci 'Οριζοντα dicunt. Sole premeretur, sicut et ipsa vicissim solem premit, cum sol infra terram est, et luna supra recto libramento, cum in umbrâ terræ est, unde fortasse, est quod Lucretius dixit:

"——Et oppressum solem super ipsâ tenere."

(Lucret. Lib. 5.—762.)

Quamvis Lucretius de terrâ interjectâ loquatur." (Q. Curtius Raderi, 203.) But with all his subtilty, though we may allow of the poetic licence of the

"Defectus solis varios lunæque labores,"

(Virgil. Georg. Lib. 2.—478.)

in the cold and correct page of History, the expression is an awkward one.

<sup>1</sup> G. Vossius, de hist. Lat. Lib. 1. Chap. 31.



cision ought indispensably to characterize an abridgment of every denomination, but when he speaks of Alexander's actions, he is extremely superficial. Exclusive of these defects, his authority is very questionable, in comparison with that of the other historians of the Macedonian Monarch, that have been already mentioned, the text is very incorrect; and the names of the towns and people, that he hath introduced, are disfigured to a degree that renders them almost unintelligible.

The Lower Empire memorable for its darkness, its barbarity and superstition, hath notwithstanding produced some authors, that have taken notice of Alexander. Exceptionable as their testimony is, even when relating to the events, of which they were spectators, undoubtedly it deserves less credit respecting those, which passed in more remote ages, and in times previous to their existence. There is not therefore any light to be procured from them, relative to any public transactions before the translation of the seat of Empire; and their performances are in general crude and ill-digested compilations, scraped together without learning, and collected without taste.

George Syncellus makes Alexander to arrive in the middle of Assyria<sup>m</sup> immediately after the engagement at Issus, and places Arbela  
and

<sup>m</sup> “Εν Ισσω της Κιλικίας αὐτῷ πολεμεῖ Δαρεῖον· καὶ τελευταῖον εἰσὼ χωρὶς της Ασσυρίας” G. Syncellus, 210. Folio. Venet, 1729.

and the field of battle known under its name in Media;<sup>n</sup> and assures us, that this Prince having reached Caucasus, reduced all the neighbouring barbarous nations under his subjection as far as the Palus Mæotis,<sup>o</sup> and that after this expedition he extended his conquests over India, and came to the Ganges.<sup>p</sup>—Such is the accuracy of the writers of the Lower Empire!

From the multifarious additions, with which the Lexicon of Suidas hath been gradually loaden, many gross errors have been inferted in it; and as the article of Alexander<sup>q</sup> itself is not exempt

<sup>n</sup> “Η εν Αρζηνλοις της Μηδικης ηχθη μαχη” G. Syncellus. 208.

<sup>o</sup> The French text stands as follows, “Et nous assure que ce prince partit des Palus Mæotis,” but Syncellus says, “Γενομενος δε και εν Καυκασω κρατει των αυτοθι βαρβαρων μεχρι Μαιωτιδος λιμνης ελθων” (G. Syncellus. 210.) which has a very different import, and I have adopted it.

<sup>p</sup> “Κακειθεν μεταχωρησας, επι της Ινδου παντος τε κρατησας εθνης Ινδικη μεχρι ποταμου [αγγη παλιν ανξευγνυσι δια τε Ινδου ποταμου μεχρι της Ινδικης θαλασσης.” (G. Syncellus. 210.) Both these passages are to be found in the same words in Eusebius, *Κρονικων*. Lib. 1.--57.

<sup>q</sup> The account of Alexander hath most certainly increased in magnitude and length as it descended. The Baron de St. Croix considers the whole of it from the “Οτι Αλεξανδρος ο Μακεδων” to the “Αυτος οκτασχις ανδρασιν” (Suidas, Tom. 1.--102.) as an interpolation, and it must be allowed, it bears strong symptoms of suspicion. Roxana, he judiciously observes, is there said to be the daughter of Darius, which is a direct contradiction of what Suidas had before advanced, where she is called the daughter of Oxyartes; that the adventure of Candace is evidently taken from the chronicle of Malala; that the anecdote concerning the music of Timotheus occurs in the same words under “Τιμοθεως,” which is the proper place for it; and that the passage respecting the naval victory over the Lacedæmonians, the structure of the wall round the Piræus, and the festival given to the Athenians, as copied from Athenæus, and to be found again in the same words under “Αθηναϊς,” (Suidas, Tom. 1.--71.) had been applied to Alexander by some ignorant

empt from them, it can be of but little service to us in the history of this Prince.

Cedrenus hath entered into details of some length on the Macedonian Monarch's expedition. And he supposes him after the reduction of Judea and the capture of Cyrene, to have marched into Egypt, and from thence by a branch of the Nile to have advanced into Assyria, pressed on towards Paropamisus and the country watered by the Thermodon, and penetrated afterwards to Phasis,<sup>r</sup> the Straits of Gibraltar, and even into Britain.<sup>s</sup>—— The whole geography of the ancient world is by this means totally deranged, and there is not even the least historical resemblance attempted to be preserved. Amongst these events, he takes care however, to report Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, with the

ignorant transcriber, (the name of Conon having been accidentally effaced) and afterwards added to Suidas. Kafter, in his note on the word "Αλεξανδρος," (Suidas, Tom. 1.--103.) admits the falsity of these last assertions, but in that on the word "Αθηναϊς," (Suidas, Tom. 1.--71.) he doubts whether Suidas or some of his copyists are responsible for it. "Quæ hic de Alexandro Magno referantur, Athenæus, unde locus Suidæ depromptus est, Cononi et quidem recte tribuit. Ratio diversitatis est, quod apud Suidam omiſſa sint verba quædam (ipsiusne Suidæ an vero aliorum culpa haud facile dixeris) quæ apud Athenæum leguntur." These interpolations the Baron de St. Croix hath laid to the charge of the writers of the middle age, who borrowed liberally from the oriental authors, and he adds that the contradictory statement of Roxana's birth was an Eastern tradition, arising from the Persian name of Rawshanc (the daughter of Darius, and married to Alexander, according to Abulpharagius) which had been confounded with that of Roxana, from some little similitude in the pronunciation.

<sup>r</sup> In Cedrenus, Phasis is called Aphasis. "Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς Ἀφασιν καὶ Γαδεῖρα, καὶ τὰ βρεττανιστὰ ἐδη γενόμενος" G. Cedrenus, 321.

<sup>s</sup> G. Cedrenus, 151, 152. 153.

the principal circumstances imagined by the Jews, and with expressions, <sup>v</sup> that cannot reasonably be attributed to Dexippus, <sup>w</sup> devoted to Polytheism, of a sacerdotal family, and a priest himself singularly zealous and attached to his own creed.—Scaliger hath apparently deceived himself in the supposition that the author of these recitals was Dexippus; but this great scholar did not recollect that Cedrenus only cites <sup>x</sup> this celebrated writer on Alexander's

<sup>v</sup> “Επι την Ιερειαν ελθων, και ταυτην ελων, υπο τη Αρχιερεως Αδων τιμησεις θυτας τω Θεω, ως παρ' αυ-  
τη την οικημενην προσειληφως” G. Cedrenus, 121.

<sup>w</sup> Publius Herennius Dexippus lived in the 3<sup>rd</sup> age of the vulgar era, and was in rotation honoured with all the principal offices at Athens. He was celebrated also as a rhetorician and historian, and acquired a very extensive reputation from his literary labours. On the subject of universal history, his application was unwearied, and with a sort of intuitive sagacity he penetrated into the inmost and obscurest recesses of antiquity. His children were authorized, by a decree of the Areopagus and the council of 750, to erect a monument to his glory, and the inscription still subsists.

“Οικοθεν Ιερεα Παναγη”——

Και αγωνοδετησαντα των μεγαλων Παναθηναιων

Ανδρας αγαλκλειτης τετροφι Κερσοπιη

‘Ον ενκαας Δεξιππον, ος ισοριαν εσαδρησας

Λιωνος δολιχην ατρεκειως εφασεν

Και τα μεν αυτος επειδε τ’αδ’ εκ βιβλων αναλεξας

‘Ηεξατο παντοιην ισοριης ατρεπον

Η μεγακλεινος ανηρ ος νε απο μυριον ομμα

Εκτεινας, χρονιους προηξιας εξεμαθεν.”

Ed. Chandler, Inscript. Antiq. Pars 2.—56. Oxon. Folio. 1774.

<sup>x</sup> The Baron de St. Croix observes that on a comparison of St. Jerom's translation of the chronicle of Eusebius, with the pretended Greek text, which Scaliger ushered under his name into the world, the conviction will naturally follow, that many of its supplemental parts are flagrant contradictions of Eusebius. Cedrenus, according to his opinion only cites Dexippus concerning the education of Alexander. The learned reader will exercise his own judgment on the passage,

ander's education, and that the rest of what relates to this Prince cannot be considered as an extract, and much less as a fragment

## I

of

passage, with the introductory and following sentences. “*Λεγει δε τε Φιλιππος τε παιδος Αλεξανδρον επι την ακμην της ηλικιας προσελθοντος, οι παροτοι των Μακεδωνων αυτον αιρουνται εις βασιλειαν.*” επι δε εις την αρχην προηλθεν Αλεξανδρος, κατ’αμφοιν το γενος εσεμνυνεν· εδε γαρ εσιν ευρειν εν παντι τω κοσμω ανδρα τοσοτοις κατορθωμασι πλεονεκτουντα· ως γαρ Δεξιππος ισορει, πασαν ασκησιν ησκηθη σωματικην Αριστοτελης γησιωτατος γεγωνας φοιτητης, εις το λογις αριστος και εις εργα επαινεμενος ευρεθη· τα δε πολεμικα θαυματως επελθων πειδης αξια διεπραξετο· Βασιλευσας γαρ χρονος οκτω, της Μακεδονας και Ιλλυριας, και Θρακας υπεταξε, την Έλλαδα κατεστρεψε· και της τε πατρός φονεας τιμωρησάμενος, και τους Παιονας αποταξας επι την Ασιαν διαπερα· και την Περσικην πολιν, και τας εν Λυδια Σαρδεις υποταξας επι Κιλικιαν αφικνείται.” (Cedrenus, 121.) In Scaliger’s edition of the chronicle of Eusebius, the account of Alexander’s entry into Judea and his interview with the Jewish high priest, is there introduced with “*Εκ τε Δεξιππου· Αλεξανδρος Ιλλυριας και Θρακας ειλε· Θηβας κατεσκαψε τε Δαρειον στρατηγους επι Γρακικω ποταμω Λυδων ενικησε, Σαρδεις ειλε· Τυρον επολιορησεν· Ιερουσαλημ προσελαβετο, και τον αρχιερεα Ιαδδην ετιμησε θυσας τω Θεω ως παρ αυτη οικουμενην ομολογων παρειληφεναι.*” (Κρονικων. Lib. 1.—56, 57.) There is a detail afterwards of many circumstances concerning the Macedonian Monarch, which is also prefaced with the “*Εκ τε Δεξιππου,*” and swells to some extent. I am ignorant of the precise authority on which Scaliger supposed them to be extracts from Dexippus, but being printed within inverted commas, they carry with them every typographical appearance of quotations. In support however of the Baron de St. Croix’s opinion, it may be observed that the expression “*Ως γαρ Δεξιππος ισορει,*” does not imply an exact quotation, but in a larger sense may signify that the relation corresponded with that of Dexippus. Syncellus also first speaks of Alexander’s entry into Judea and his interview with the Jewish high priest, without saying any thing of Dexippus. To quote the passage would be to repeat that already cited from Eusebius, for it is literally the same, with the single exception of “*Ιαδδης*” instead of “*Ιαδδην.*” He then relates some farther particulars of Alexander, and gives a sort of history of the Heraclides, and of various other persons and events, and returning to the Macedonian Monarch, he tells us, “*Αλεξανδρος ον η ακμην ετος, κατ’αμφοιν το γενος εσεμνυνεν, πασαν ασκησιν ησκημενος σωματικην. αυτη τε γησιωτατος Αριστοτελης γεγωνας του δαιμονιωτατος φοιτητης επι την πατρωαν παρελθε βασιλειαν.*” (Syncellus, 210.) It is remarkable that the same passage occurs in Eusebius, (Κρονικων. Lib. 1.—57.) and that the three accounts of Alexander’s entry into Judea, and his interview with the Jewish high priest by the historians, that have been referred to, are delivered in nearly the same words, from which there arises a strong inference that they copied them from some other writer. The “*Θυσας τω Θεω, ως παρ αυτη οικουμενην, &c.*” is to be found in all of them, but Cedrenus makes the high priest “*Αδδων,*” instead of “*Ιαδδην.*” Eusebius and Syncellus give us “*Τον αρχιερα ετιμησε,*” but Cedrenus, with a greater allowance for human fears and apprehensions, hath “*Υπο τη Αρχιερεως τιμηθεις.*”



of Dexippus, whom Photius<sup>γ</sup> hath not scrupled to compare with Thucydides.

Paulus Orosius can only be reckoned the copyist of Justin, and Zonares<sup>z</sup> in his turn seems to have derived his information from Diodorus Siculus. His abridgment however of Alexander's expeditions is not without merit, and is more correct, than might have been expected from a writer of the twelfth century, who quitted a court from superstitious motives, to bury himself within a cloister. With the productions of these writers, the works of Eusebius of Cæsarea are not to be confounded, and important both to literature and to religion, they have undoubted pretensions to particular distinction. Yet it must not be dissembled, that his discernment was not always equal to his erudition.<sup>a</sup>——This laborious writer is not very exact in his chronicle concerning Alexander, and it was after the death of Darius, according to his ideas, that the Grecian Hero made himself the master of Babylon,<sup>b</sup> notwithstanding it was previous to the assassination of the Persian Monarch. Eusebius informs us also, that the Macedonian Prince having subdued the Hyrcanians and the Medes, returned and founded

<sup>γ</sup> “Εἰς δὲ τὴν φρασὶν ἀπερίττος τε, καὶ οὐκὼ καὶ ἀξιωματικῶν χαιρῶν, καὶ (ὥς ἂν τις εἴποι) ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος σαφηνείας Οὐκυδίδης.” Photii Biblioth. 200.

<sup>z</sup> Zonares, Annales, 137, 148.

<sup>a</sup> “Πολυμάχης δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀΐχιναιον καὶ τὸ Σαδνησον τὴν ἡδυσ, ὡς παρὰ τὴν ἀκριβείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐνδεύεσθαι.” Photii Biblioth. 12.

<sup>b</sup> “Obtinuit Babylonem interfecto Dario.” Eusebius, 34.



founded Parætonium<sup>c</sup> in the country of Ammon; but this city was in being before Alexander,<sup>d</sup> and he never returned from the extremities of the East into Lybia.

Athenagoras,<sup>e</sup> and after him St. Augustin<sup>f</sup> and St. Cyprian,<sup>g</sup> relate that Alexander informed his mother by letter, that the priests of Heliopolis, of Memphis, and of Thebes, had confessed to him, that their gods were originally men, whom they had deified;<sup>h</sup> a sentiment disproved by the evidence of the priests themselves,<sup>i</sup> and which could not possibly be conciliated with the essence of Egyptianism.

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<sup>c</sup> "Alexander Hyrcanos et Medos capit: revertens in Ammone condidit Parætonium." Eusebius. 34. See Scaliger's note on this passage. Scaligeri Animad. ad Eusebium. 126.

<sup>d</sup> Scylax. Peripl. 40. apud geograph. minores. Tom. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Legat. pro Christ. ad Cal. St. Justin. 325.

<sup>f</sup> De Civitate Dei. L. 8, 6, 27. L. 12, 6. 10.

<sup>g</sup> "Hoc ita esse Alexander Magnus insigni volumine ad matrem suam scribit. Metu suâ potestatis proditum sibi de Diis hominibus à sacerdotibus secretum: quod majorum et regum memoria servata sit, inde colendi et sacrificandi ritus insolverit." St. Cyprian, de Idd. Vault. 9. Amst. Folio. 1700.

<sup>h</sup> This opinion however hath been formally attacked by one, who hath looked deep into antiquity. "On a prétendu qu'ils avoient établi pour faire voir que les Dieux étoient tous des hommes, qui avoient été déifiés à cause des services, qu'ils avoient rendus au genre humain. Mais il faudroit, pour que cela pût être adopté, qu'on en trouvât des preuves dans l'antiquité, ce qui est impossible, l'antiquité n'ayant jamais déifié des hommes."

Monde Primitif, par M. Court de Gebelin. 311.

<sup>i</sup> Herodotus. 120. to 132.

St. Clement<sup>k</sup> and St. Cyrill,<sup>l</sup> the patriarchs of Alexandria, accuse the Pagans with having acknowledged Alexander for their thirteenth deity; but such a rank had never been assigned him, and even the Athenians had the resolution to fine the orator Demades ten talents, for proposing to inscribe the Macedonian Monarch in the number of their divinities.<sup>m</sup> It is notwithstanding very certain, that Alexander's successors ordered divine honours to be paid to him,<sup>n</sup> and that the Romans erected temples<sup>o</sup> inscribed with his name; though there was not, as St. Chrysostom<sup>p</sup> hath

<sup>k</sup> “Οἱ δὲ γὰρ ἀνδραποὺς ἀποθεῖν τετολμηκασι, τρεῖς καὶ δεκάτον Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἀναγχαζόντες Θεόν, ὃν βαβυλῶν ἤλεξε νεκρὸν.” Clement. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. Tom. 1.--77. Oxon. 1715.

<sup>l</sup> “Ἀλεξάνδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλίππου τρεῖς καὶ δεκάτον ἔδοκει Θεὸν ὀνομαζέειν τοῖς κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καίρι.” Cyrill contra Julianum, Lib. 6. Juliani opera, Tom. 2.--205. Folio. Lips. 1696.

<sup>m</sup> The Baron de St. Croix might have added the sentence of death against Evagoras, as related by Athenæus. “Δημάδην δὲ δεκά ταλάντοις ἐζημιώσαν, ὅτι Θεὸν εἰσηγήσατο Ἀλεξάνδρον, καὶ Εὐαγόραν δὲ ἀπεκτείναν, ὅτι πρὸς βασιλέα πρὸς σκευήσεν αὐτόν.” (Lib. 6. 251.) Plutarch hath preserved a Bon Mot on this occasion, “Πυθέας ἐτι μείζακιον ὦν, πρὸς ἡλθεν αὐτῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γράφομενοις ψηφισμασιν” εἰπόντος δὲ τινος, Σὺ νεὸς ὦν τόλμας λέγειν περὶ τῆλικούτων; καὶ μὴν, Ἀλεξάνδρος, εἶπεν, ὃν ψηφίζεσθε Θεόν, ἐμὰ νεότερος ἐστὶ.” (Apothegm. Tom. 2.--187.) Such a farcastic reply as the Baron de St. Croix hath observed, seems of itself sufficient to have rendered useless and ineffectual all the intrigues and eloquence of Demades. Yet he had made rather a serious appeal to the Athenians. “Videte,” inquit, “ne dum cælum custoditis, terram amittatis.” (Val. Max. Lib. 7. 62.--638. 4<sup>to</sup> Leid. 1726.) Lucian however, still seems to intimate it, “Ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς δωδεκά θεοῖς προσκυβέντες, καὶ νέως οἰκοδομώμενοι καὶ θύοντες.” Lucian. Dial. Mort. 13. Tom. 1.--391.

<sup>n</sup> La Dissertation de Monf. L’Abbe Belley. Memoires de l’Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres. Tom. 32.--685. See also Barthius ad Statium. Tom. 1.--403, 404.

<sup>o</sup> It was in one of these temples that Alexander Severus was born according to Lampridius. “Alexander nomen accepit, quod in templo, dicato apud Arcenem urbem Alexandro Magno, natus esset.” Historia Angustæ Scriptores. Tom. 1.--889.

<sup>p</sup> Homil. 26. in Epist. ad Corinthios.

hath asserted, any obligation by a decree of the Senate, to offer him adoration as their thirteenth deity. The worship of the deities of other nations was in fact often prohibited at Rome, sometimes barely tolerated, and respectful allowances are to be made for writings, in which such things are recorded, without either an outrage to veracity in a culpable silence, or inattention to them.

The memory of the exploits of the Macedonian Conqueror is still treasured up with veneration in the regions of the East. Both the Persian, and Arabian authors, often speak of him under the name of Escander, and he figures as a principal Hero of their romance. Eldrifi<sup>a</sup> confounds him with Hercules, Abulpharagius and Ebnbatric<sup>b</sup> trace his descent from one of the Kings of Egypt; and others affirm that the Empire of Iran, or of the Persians, became his property by hereditary right, rather than by the force of arms.<sup>c</sup> Amidst all these fables, and a multitude of others, some shining traits are distinctly visible, which mark the Conqueror of Darius and of Asia; and many of his actions, though they may have suffered alterations, clearly point out the splendid Personage to whom they were applied.

<sup>a</sup> Eldrifi. Geograph. Nub. 148.

<sup>b</sup> Abulpharagius. Hist. Dynast. ex Vers. Pocock. 57.

<sup>c</sup> Mirkhoud. Sect. 20.

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## S E C T I O N. II.

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HAPPY are the People, in whose annals neither the enterprises of an ambitious Prince, nor the exploits of a Conqueror are to be traced, which feldom fail of being deplorable misfortunes for the subject. The history of Macedon affords us a striking instance of this truth, in the melancholy spectacle of the misery, that followed so immediately the moments of its glory.—Philip's power was the fatal source of repeated wars and numerous revolutions.—His Successor reaped the fruit of all his toils, and realized with ardour and activity those ideal conquests, with which the Macedonian Monarch was occupied, when he died suddenly, in the first year of the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, during the chief magistracy of Pythodemos,<sup>a</sup> 418 years before the foundation of Rome, and

<sup>a</sup> We have this information from Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 1.--5-6.) but he prefaces it with "Λεγεται δε," The Athenian Archon was the Chief of the nine magistrates, and the Athenian year was distinguished by his name like the Roman year by that of their consuls. "Εφοροι δε ταυτε αλλα διοικησι τα σπεδης μαλιστα αξια, και παρεκονται τον επωνυμον; καθα δη και Αθηναίοις των καλημενων ενθα επωνυμους εστιν εις αρχων." (Pausanias. Laconic. 231. 232.) These nine magistrates

and 336 before the vulgar era. The young Prince took the reins of government into his hands in the following year, according to Diodorus Siculus, when Evenætus was Archon,<sup>b</sup> but this historian contradicts himself afterwards, when he relates that Alexander reigned twelve years and seven months,<sup>c</sup> which carries back the time that Alexander became possessed of the throne of his ancestors to the fifth month of the chief magistracy of Pythodemus.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, refers the commencement of Alexander's reign to the preceding year, when Phrynicus was Archon, in the fourth year of the 110<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, as he assures us that Demosthenes pronounced his oration on the crown under Aristophon, the third year of the 112<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and six<sup>d</sup> years after Philip's

magistrates according to Julius Pollux bore the following names, “*Ἀρχων, Βασιλεὺς, Πολυμαχέως, ἐξ ἐσομοδεταί.*” (Lib. 8.) Julius Pollux hath also given the Archon the addition of “*Του ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπαννυμος,*” which Selden hath translated “*Anni signator.*” (Marmon. Arund.) The English reader may learn many particulars of these offices from Potter's Grecian Antiquities, Vol. 1.-76. and the scholar may be gratified with more curious information by turning to Petit. *Leges. Attic.* 236. and Budæus, *Comment. Græc. Linguae.* 172. &c. &c.

<sup>b</sup> “*Ἐπ’ αὐχοντος γὰρ Ἀθηνησιν Εὐκρινετι——— Ἀλεξάνδρος διαδεξαμένην τὴν βασιλειαν.*” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--161.

<sup>c</sup> “*Τὸν προειρημένον τρεῖς ἔτελεσε, βασιλευσας ἐτὶ δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ.*” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.

<sup>d</sup> “*Huit ans apres la mort de Philip.*” Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the passage referred to, speaking of the oration, “*Περὶ τοῦ τεφάνου,*” says, “*Οὗτος γὰρ μόνος εἰς δικάστησιον εἰσέλθουθεν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπ’ Ἀριστοφάντος αὐχοντος, οὐδὼν μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαίρωνει μάχην, ἐκτῷ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν.*” (Dionysius Halicarnassus. *Epist. ad Ammæum.* Tom. 6.--746.) I have corrected the error, but the Greek text is so very plain, and the eight years relate so very clearly to the battle of Chæronæa, that I must confess the mistake created in me some little indignation.



Philip's death. This calculation however does not appear to be correct, for Philip died during the magistracy of Pythodemos, in the Macedonian month Dios, which was the first month of their Solar year, and answered to that of PuanepSION in the Attic year. The certainty of this date is ascertained by the twelve years and eight months, which Arrian allots to Alexander's reign, who died, as we shall find afterwards, at the end of the month Thargalion. Eratosthenes hath also settled the period of this reign, who reckons thirty-five<sup>c</sup> years between Philip's death and the battle of Leuctra, which happened according to the chronicle of Paros<sup>f</sup> in the chief magistracy of Phraclides, the second year of the 102<sup>nd</sup> Olympiad, and this evidently fixes Philip's death in the Archonship of Pythodemos.

The defeat of the Triballians, the Thracians, the Getæ, the Autoriates, the Tralentians, and of the Agrionians, and the reduction of the different people, who made on the death of Philip an effort to recover their liberty, with some flattering expectations from the youth of his Son, were Alexander's first exploits.<sup>g</sup>

Both

<sup>c</sup> Ap. Clement. Alex. Strom. Lib. 1. Tom. 1.--402. Apud Morell.

<sup>f</sup> Epoch. 73.

<sup>g</sup> Plutarch hath very briefly given us an account of the difficulties, with which Alexander was embarrassed on the death of Philip. "Παρέλαβε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ γεγενῆσσι τὴν βασιλείαν, φθόνους μεγάλους καὶ δεινὰ μισθὰ καὶ κινδύνους πανταχοῦ ἐχούσων· οὐτε γὰρ τὰ βαρβάρων καὶ προσοικα γένει τὴν δουλίῃ σιν εἶπεν, ποδούντα τὰς πατρίας βασιλείας· οὐτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα κρατήσας τοῖς ὅπλοις ὁ Φίλιππος, οἷον καταξένε καὶ τιθασεύσαι χροῖόν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον μεταβαλὼν καὶ ταράξας τὰ περὶ γένη, πολὺν σάλλον ἐχόντα καὶ κίνησιν ὑποαγένης, ἀπέλιπεν." Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--670.



Both Diodorus and Plutarch pass hastily over these expeditions, in which the young Monarch's military talents were first unfolded: Arrian is the only writer, that hath extended an account of them to any satisfactory length,<sup>h</sup> and it even still includes some difficulties. Thrace was the theatre of war, and it is scarcely to be conceived, that the Taulentians, the inhabitants of a little tract of country northward of Epirus, should have been exposed to any misunderstanding with Alexander, and should have come from such a distance to have joined his enemies. Perhaps by the Taulentians, the Illyrians are to be understood, over whom Glaucias the King of the Taulentians had stretched his Empire, and who were afterwards considered as the same people with their conquerors, and distinguished by one common name. This conjecture appears to be authorized by the text of Arrian,<sup>i</sup> and hath been adopted by the learned Palmer in his observations upon ancient Greece.<sup>k</sup>

The Celtes, whose country bordered on the Ionic gulph, now the Adriatic sea, dispatched ambassadors to Alexander, and in a conversation with them he inquired what was the greatest object

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of

<sup>h</sup> Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6.--7, 30.

<sup>i</sup> And it seems to be confirmed by what Arrian says of the Athenian embassy, to congratulate Alexander on his prosperous return from his expedition against the Illyrians and Triballians. “Ὅτι τε σωος ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἐπανηλθε” (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 10.--43.) Thucydides hath also called the Taulentians “Ἰλλυριῶν ἐθνη.” Thucydides, Lib. 1.--20.

<sup>k</sup> Palmer Græciæ Antiq. Descriptio. Lib. 1. Chap. 18.

of their fears, imagining that the terror of his exploits had already reached them.<sup>1</sup> Of the fall of the sky, was supposed to have been their spirited reply. This story which Arrian hath extracted from Ptolemy's memoirs, as appears by Strabo,<sup>m</sup> was in all likelihood an episode invented as an ornament to the history of Alexander. It is not probable that these Celtes, who were the ancient Boians or Senones, in possession of a country inaccessible in point of situation, and at a distance from the contending nations, should without any motive have sent ambassadors to court the friendship<sup>n</sup> of a Prince, with whom they had not either any connection or concern.

Justin<sup>o</sup> relates, that Alexander selected the different tributary Kings, whose abilities and talents were likely to be formidable to him,

<sup>1</sup> "Τους Κελτικούς δε κ' ηρετο, ὅ, τι μάλιστα δεδιττεται αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνδρωπίνων, ἐλπίσας ὅτι μετὰ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ κ' ἐς Κελτικούς κ' ἐτι προσωτέρω ἦκει." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 4.--20.

<sup>m</sup> "Φησι δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγού, κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν συμμίζει τῷ Ἀλεξανδρῷ Κέλτης τὴν περὶ τὴν Ἀδρίαν, Φιλίας κ' ξενίας χάριν· δεξαμένοι δὲ αὐτὸς φιλοφρονέως τὸν βασιλέα, ἐρεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ποτόν, τι μάλιστα εἴη ὃ φοβούνται, νομίζοντα αὐτὸν εἶναι· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀποκρίνεσθαι, οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ἀεὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσοι."

Strabo. Lib. 7.--462.

<sup>n</sup> The Baron de St. Croix's expression is "Seroient ils venus sans aucun motif prostituer leur hommage." Arrian does not warrant this idea, by the "Φιλίας δὲ πάντες τῆς Ἀλεξανδρου ἐφιέμενοι" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 4.--20.) There is a wide difference between the desire of a friendship and alliance with a Monarch, and the slavish offer of passive and unlimited obedience to him. The latter did not form any part of the Celtic character, and was utterly inconsistent with the genius of that bold and warlike nation.

<sup>o</sup> "Reges stipendiarios conspectioris ingenii ad commilitium secum trahit: segnioris ad tutelam regni reliquit." (Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 5.--265.) If we are to credit Justin, Alexander acted on

him, and carried them away with him. Frontinus<sup>p</sup> tells us, that the vanquished princes and even the principal persons of the conquered countries were taken, on the same refined plan of policy, into Asia, as honourable attendants upon Alexander; but the rest of the historians, without any observation on the subject, pass it over in profound silence.—Policy made it necessary for Alexander to assure himself of the fidelity of Greece by some great stroke before he quitted it, and the revolt of Thebes, afforded him an ample opportunity, in every respect favourable to his wishes. The

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on a still more barbarous principle, and to ensure the safety of his government, cut off without exception all his own family relations, who from a proximity of blood, or their high rank, might have taken the advantage of his absence and endeavoured to have seated themselves upon his throne. “*Proficiscens ad Persicum bellum, omnes novercæ suæ cognatos, quos Philippus in excelso dignitatis locum provehens, imperiis præfecerat, interfecit. Sed nec suis, qui apti regno videbantur, pepercit; ne qua materia seditionis, procul se agente, in Macedoniâ remaneret.*” (Lib. 11. Chap. 5.--265.) In the crooked and corrupted school of politics, such unhappy victims of imperial policy have frequently been slaughtered, but reason and humanity have always raised their voices against this dreadful waste of human blood. In proportion as the mild spirit of Christianity hath been attended to, these scenes have disappeared, and it is some consolation to reflect, that the historians of a future century will have fewer extravagant instances of tyranny and cruelty either to record, or to lament.

<sup>p</sup> “Frontine ne fait point cette distinction : il pretend que tous les princes vaincus subirent un pareil sort.” I have been under the indispensable necessity of varying this sentence. Frontinus on the contrary, proves as far as his evidence hath any weight, that Alexander pursued the same system of retaining his sovereignty over the conquests, that he had made, by the removal of every individual, capable of creating either danger or disturbance. “Alexander, devictâ perdomitâque Thraciâ, petens Asiam, veritus, ne post ipsius decessus fumerent arma, reges eorum, præfectosque, et omnes, quibus videbantur inesse cura detractæ libertatis, secum, velut honoris causâ, traxit, ignobilibus autem relictis plebeios præfecit; consecutus, ubi principes beneficiis ejus obstricti, nihil novare vellent; plebs vero ne posset quidem, spoliata principibus.” 1. Frontinus. *Strategemat.* Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--298, 299. 8<sup>vo</sup> L. B. 1731

city was besieged and totally destroyed. Every germ of a war, which might have retarded, and perhaps have put a stop to the vast projects of this Prince, was thus blasted to its root, and Thebes in its ruins exhibited an awful and tremendous spectacle, which spread an impressive consternation over all Greece.

Thebes was taken by stratagem according to Polyænus,<sup>1</sup> but Ptolemy,<sup>2</sup> who was present at the siege, informs us that the besieged had rashly advanced too far in a sally, and on being repulsed by the Macedonian phalanx, the besiegers entered the town with them in their confusion. Diodorus Siculus<sup>3</sup> hath confirmed Ptolemy's

<sup>1</sup> “Αλεξάνδρῳ εἰλαβε Θηβας τῆς δυναμὲως ἱκανὴν ἀποκενψας, καὶ τάξας αὐτῆς Ἀντιπατρῶν. τὴν δὲ φανερὰν αὐτῆς ἦεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐχυρῆς τῶν τοπῶν· Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐπεξήλθον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀφειμένην δυνάμειν οὐκ ἀγένηως ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο· Ἀντιπατρῶς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης τὴν κεκρυμμένην δυνάμειν ἀναστήσας, κυκλῶ περιελθὼν ἡ σάβρον καὶ ἀφυλάκτον ἦν τὸ τεῖχος, ταύτῃ κατέλαβεν τὴν πόλιν.” Polyænus, Strat. Lib. 4. --333.

<sup>2</sup> “Λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγὺς ὅτι——— Αλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ φευγόντας κατῴδων, τοὺς Θηβαίους δὲ λελυκότας ἐν τῇ διώξει τὴν τάξιν, ἐμβάλλει εἰς αὐτοὺς συντεταγμένη τῇ φαλαγγί· Ὅι δὲ ὠδύουσιν τοὺς Θηβαίους εἰσὼ τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις εἰς τοσόνδε ἡ φύγη φόβος ἐγενήθη, ὥστε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ὠδοῦμενοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐφθῆσαν συγκλείσθαι τὰς πύλας· ἀλλὰ συνεισπιπτοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἰσὼ τοῦ τεύχους, ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων εἴγυς φευγόντων εἰχόντο.” Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 8.--34, 35, 36.

<sup>3</sup> “Ἀντιβελήτης δὲ τῆς φιλοτιμίας γινόμενης, ὁ βασιλεὺς, κατανόησας τίνα πολὺν καταλείμενην ἀπὸ τῶν φυλάκων, ἐξαπέστειλε Περδίκκην μετὰ στρατιῶν ἱκανῶν καταλαβεσθαι ταύτην, καὶ παρῆσπεσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· τετὴ δὲ ταχὺ τὸ πρὸς ταχὺν ποισάντος, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες διὰ τῆς πολιδῶς παρῆσπεσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν——— τῆς δὲ πόλεως τὸν τρόπον καταλαμβανομένης, πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα περιστασιεὶς ἐντὸς τῶν τεύχων ἐγένοντο.” The terrible catastrophe is then pathetically described. “Ὅι μὲν γὰρ Μακεδόνες, διὰ τὴν ἐπισηφάνειαν τῆς κηρυγμάτων, πικροτέρων, ἢ πολέμικωτέρον προσέφεροντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐπιφερόμενοι τοῖς ἡττημένοις, ἀφείδως ἀνέβησαν πάντας τὰς περιτυχάνοντας· Ὅι δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τὸ φιλελευθέρου τῆς ψυχῆς διαφυλάττοντες, τοσούτων ἀπείχον τῆ φιλοζωίας, ὥς ἐν ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι συμπλεκεσθαι,



Ptolemy's account with a few slight shades of difference. The historians reckon six thousand of the besieged to have been killed, and thirty thousand of them to have been made prisoners : ' others have pretended that the Thebans lost ten thousand men in the siege. Agatharcides very reasonably suspects this calculation to be an exaggerated one, and improbable.<sup>w</sup> On the supposition that

ἡ τὰς παρὰ τῶν πολέμιων ἐπισπασθαι πλῆγας\* ἐκλωκυίας γὰρ τῆς πόλεως, ἡδὲς Θηβαίων ἐώραθη δεηθεὶς τῶν Μακεδόνων φείσασθαι τὴ ζῆν, ὅδε προσεπιπτον τοῖς τῶν κρατεντῶν γονασὶν αἰένως\*——— τῶν δὲ ὑπολειμμένων Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν κατατετρωμένοι τὰ σώματα, καὶ λεπτοψυχόντες συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, συναποδύοντες τὴ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολεία." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--169, 170.) The generous mind will pause with admiration at this wonderful display of undaunted valour, and a sigh will naturally arise on the recollection that such exertions in the cause of freedom were unsuccessful.

\* "Τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἀνηρεθίσαν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑξακισχίλιος, αἰχμαλῶτα δὲ σώματα συνήχθη πλείων τῶν τρισμυρίων" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--170.

"Ἐφρονεῦσε δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱς ἑξακισχίλιος, αἰχμαλῶται δὲ ἐληφθίσαν τρισμύριοι" (Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 13. C. 7. Tom. 2.-861.4<sup>to</sup> 1731.) We learn from the same authority that the descendants of the poet Pindar had a singular respect paid to them amidst the universal devastation, and that his house was the only one exempted from the general destruction. "Ἐτίμησε δὲ καὶ τὸς ἐγόνους τῶς τὴ Πινδαρῆς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτομόνην εἰσάναι" (Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 13. Chap. 7. Tom. 2.-860.) Plutarch hath confirmed Ælian's account of the respect shewn to Pindar's family, and agrees with him on the Theban Loss. "ὑπεξέλομενος δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, καὶ τῶς ξένους Μακεδόνων ἅπαντας, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πινδαρῆς γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντιώθεντας τοῖς ψηφισαμένοις τὴν ἀποσασιν, ἀπέδοτο τοὺς ἄλλους, περὶ τρισμυρίους γενομένους\* οἱ δὲ ἀποδύοντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιος ἦσαν" Plutarch. Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--670.)

<sup>w</sup> I am not happy enough to have found the passage, which the Baron de St. Croix hath referred to in Photius, for this opinion of Agatharcides. The only one that I have met with, which mentions the loss of the Thebans, is the following one. "Πλὴν προστιθήσι καὶ ἕτερα τῶν εἰρημένων ὁμοίαν, ἵπο τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ταῦτα φερὼν διαβολὴν\* οἷον, Θηβαῖοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Μακεδόνας ὑπὲρ τῶς μυρίους ἀνέτραπευσαν" (Photii Biblioth. 1337.) where the expression was more an object of criticism, than the number of the slain. Simpson also thinks the number to have been magnified, Chronic. ad Ann. Mundi, 3670.

that this statement was correct, the population of Thebes might be estimated at fifty thousand souls, a number that bears no sort of proportion to the crippled state of this city, which had previously lost much of its ancient splendour, had been enfeebled by many bloody battles, and whose power had been nearly annihilated in the sacred war.<sup>x</sup> Clitarchus only valued the whole riches of Thebes, when they became a prey to the Macedonians, at four hundred and forty talents,<sup>y</sup> which directly contradicts the pompous account that Diodorus Siculus hath given of the pretended treasure, found by the Conqueror on his capture of this place. But the authority of Diodorus Siculus, who is often very inexact, can here indeed have little influence, as we find in general the same calculations with those of Clitarchus. Some arguments may also be drawn from the circumstances, which Athenæus hath preserved, respecting the manners and mode of life amongst the Thebans, which denounce their poverty,<sup>z</sup> and appear inconsistent with a numerous population, which is generally the attendant of advantageous manufactures and extensive commerce.

### Alarmed

<sup>x</sup> Pausanias informs us that this sacred war lasted ten years. “Τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον, ὀνομαζόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἱερὸν, συνεχὺς δέκα ἐτεσὶν ἐπολεμήσαν.” † (Pausanias. Lib. 9. Chap. 6.--724.) A length of time that must necessarily have drained them both of men and money.

<sup>y</sup> “Κλειταρχῷ ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἱστορίων διηγήμενθι, καὶ ὅτι παρ’ αὐτῶν πλεῖστος ἦν ὁ μετὰ τὴν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς πόλεως κατασκαρὴν ἐν πάλαν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντα φησὶν, ὅτι τε μικροψυχοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν λιχοὶ.” Athenæus. Lib. 4.--148.

<sup>z</sup> “Παρασκευαζόντες ἐν τοῖς θειπνοῖς θρία, καὶ ἰψήτες, καὶ ἀφύας, καὶ εἰκαρσιλυχμοὶ, καὶ ἀλλαντας, καὶ σχελιδας, καὶ ἐτνος.” Athenæus. Lib. 4.--148.



Alarmed at the capture of Thebes, Athens by the persuasion of Demades sent an embassy to Alexander, to congratulate him on his safe return from Illyria and the country of the Triballians, and to testify their joy to him on his success at Thebes, and the chastisement, with which he had punished its revolt. The Prince received it very graciously, but he wrote to the Athenians and demanded Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyeuctes, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus and Mærocles to be given up to him, whom he believed to have been the authors of the disturbances after Philip's death, and the cause of the battle of Chæronea. A second embassy was sent by the Athenians with the hope of softening the Prince's resolution, and the business was at last compromised, on Alexander's insisting only on the exile of Charidemus.<sup>a</sup> Such is Arrian's account, but it neither agrees with that of his cotemporary authors, nor even with that of Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, or Justin. Thebes was not in fact destroyed, and the young Conqueror was absolutely engaged in the siege, when the embassy was sent, as appears by the oration of Æschines against Ctesiphon, in which he reproaches Demosthenes, one of the deputies, with his return from mount Cithæron, and having wanted the courage to execute his commission.<sup>b</sup> Plutarch confirms the charge of Æschines, and adds that a message was sent by Alexander

<sup>a</sup> "Χαριδημον μὲν τοι, μόνου των ἐξαίτηθεντων τε καὶ ου δοθέντων, φευγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ φευγει Χαριδημος ἡ τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ βασιλεῶς Δαρειοῦ" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 10. Chap. 10.--44.

<sup>b</sup> "Πρεσβευτὴς ἐφ' ἑμῶν χειροτονηθεὶς, ἀποδράς ἐκ μέσθ τῆ Κιθαιρωνῶν, ἤκεν ὑποστροφάς" Æschinis oratio contra Ctesiphont. 120.

ander himself to demand ten of the factious demagogues<sup>c</sup> according to Duris and Idomeneus, and eight according to more credible historians. Demades having joined the party of Demosthenes,<sup>d</sup> was named by the people of Athens, ambassador on this occasion to Alexander, and he had the address to procure the pardon of their orators.—Diodorus Siculus<sup>e</sup> hath not taken any notice of the first deputations of the Athenians, though he agrees in other particulars with Plutarch. Justin speaks of this deputation even before the siege of Thebes, and if we are to believe him, its object was to obtain a peace from the young Monarch, which he granted.

<sup>c</sup> “Αἰρεῖσιν δὲ μετ’ ἑτέρων πρεσβυτέρων πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον, δέσας δὲ τὴν ὀργήν, ἐκ τῆς Κιθαιρωνῶν ἀνεχώρησεν ὁπίσω, καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτείαν ἀφῆκεν· εὐθὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐζήτηι πεμπάν των δημάτων δέκα μὲν ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Δουρίς εἰρηκασιν· οὐκ ἔτι, ὡς οἱ πλείους καὶ δοκιμώτατοι των συγγραφεων, τοὺς δὲ, Δημοσθένην, Πολυεκτόν, Εὐφιάτην, Λυκούργον, Μυροκλέα, Δαμώνα, Καλλισθένη, Χαριδῆμον.” Plutarch. Vit. Demosth. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--856.

<sup>d</sup> Diodorus Siculus informs us that Demades was supposed to have received five talents for this political manœuvre. “Δημάδης, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ των πρὸς Δημοσθένην, ὡς φασι, πέντε ταλάντοις ἀργυρίῳ, συνέβηκεν μὲν σωζέιν τὴν κινδυνεύοντα.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--171.) The Athenian senate it seems was as corrupt as a modern House of Commons.

<sup>e</sup> Diodorus Siculus agrees with Plutarch and Æschines as to the return of Demosthenes from mount Cithæron, but he doubts whether it was from fear, or other motives. “Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτεσι καὶ Δημοσθένει ἐκπεμφθεῖς, ἔτι συνελθὲς μετὰ των ἀλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς Κιθαιρωνῶν ἀνεκαμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· εἴτε διὰ τὰς πεπολιτευμένας κατὰ Μακεδόνων φοβήδεις, εἴτε βεβηλωμένῳ τῷ βασιλεὶ των Περσων ἀμεμπτον αὐτὸν διαφυλάττειν· πολλὰ γὰρ χρεμάτα φασιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι παρὰ Περσων, ἵνα πολιτευταὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων· περὶ ὧν καὶ τὸν Αἰσχίνην φασιν, οὐκ εἰδίζοντα τῷ Δημοσθένει κατὰ τινὰ λόγον τὴν δωροδοκίαν, εἶπεν, “Νυν μὲντοι τὴν δαπάνην ἐπικεκλυκέν αὐτὴ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· εἰσὶ δὲ ἔτι τέτοιο ἱκανόν· ἔδεις γὰρ πώποτε πλῆτος τροπὴ πονηρὴ περιεγενέτο.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--162, 163.) A variety of these pointed charges are made by Æschines in his oration against Ctesiphon, and as they are so feebly repelled by Demosthenes, in all probability, they were but too well founded.

granted.<sup>f</sup> This historian informs us likewise that Alexander pardoned the orators, but that the Athenian generals were under the necessity of retiring into exile; and, entering into the Persian service, were of infinite advantage to it.<sup>g</sup> But this latter circumstance stands unsupported by any writer of antiquity. Justin possibly meant to speak of Charidemus, who distinguished himself very eminently in the Olynthian war, but it appears, by some expressions of Dinarchus,<sup>h</sup> that this able general had voluntarily expatriated, for the purpose of rendering his country more important advantages with the King of Persia.<sup>i</sup>——Ephialtes soon followed the example, and retired from Athens.<sup>k</sup> But it is not probable as Arrian hath asserted,<sup>l</sup> that the Athenians could have

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applauded

<sup>f</sup> "Missis itaque legatis, bellum deprecantur: quibus auditis et graviter increpatis, Alexander bellum remisit. Inde Thebas exercitum convertit." Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 3.--262.

<sup>g</sup> "Secundâ legatione denuo bellum deprecantibus, ita demum remisit, ut oratores et duces, quorum fiducia toties rebellent, sibi dedantur: paratissime Atheniensibus ne cogantur subire bellum, eo res deducta est, ut retentis oratoribus, duces in exilium agerentur, qui ex continenti ad Darium profecti, non mediocriter Perfarum viribus accessere." Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 4.--265.

<sup>h</sup> Dinarchi oratio contra Demosthenem. Ed. Steph. 99.

<sup>i</sup> From a jealousy of the Persian generals, he was afterwards ungratefully put to death by the orders of Darius. Q. Curtius (Lib. 3. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--69.--70.) hath given us some of the leading circumstances. Diodorus Siculus (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--181, 182.) hath entered into them more minutely.

<sup>k</sup> Dinarchi oratio contra Demosthenem. Ed. Steph. 94.

<sup>l</sup> "Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, μυστηρίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων, ὡς ἤκουσιν τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου, τὰ μὲν μυστηρία ἐκπλάγνυντες ἐξέλιπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγῶν ἐσκευαγῶσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 10.-43.) This festival distinguished by the name of the greater mysteries was celebrated in the

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applauded Alexander on his cruel treatment of the Thebans, when they publicly deplored their lamentable fate, immediately put a stop to the celebration of their mysteries, and received within their walls such of the wretched sufferers as had escaped from the sword or fetters of the Conqueror.<sup>m</sup>

Having secured the tranquillity of Greece, Alexander prepared for his attack of the Persian empire. The weakness of a neighbouring nation, strong political probabilities of success, and the destruction of an enemy, are often the real causes of wars, which are entered into with apparent principles of justice.—The Conqueror of Asia had no other motives. Polybius,<sup>n</sup> with his usual acuteness, hath penetrated into them, and hath had the sagacity to separate them from those pretended reasons for hostilities, in which the Grecian vanity was too much interested, to allow of their suspecting their propriety.

The

the month Boedromion with extraordinary and rigid solemnity. It lasted nine days, and was introduced at Rome under Adrian, when it bore the name of the Eleusinian mysteries from the town of Eleusis in Attica, where it had been celebrated with more than common superstition. Themistius, Proclus, Stobæus and Dion Chrysostom, have given us some interesting circumstances relating to these mysteries: Meursius hath entered into them at large in his treatise on this festival, and Warburton (*Divine Legation*, Vol. 1.--239, 248. 8<sup>vo</sup> Edit. 1765.) hath extracted the essence, and ingeniously adapted it to his own system.

<sup>m</sup> The flying Thebans according to Æschines were received within the walls of Athens: “*Τες ταλαιπωρους Θηβαιους φυγοντας υποδεεχθε τη πολει*” (Æschines contra Ctesiph. 116.) but Justin goes still further and says, that they opened the city-gates to them, in defiance of Alexander’s express prohibition. “*Miseranda res Atheniensibus visa. Itaque portus refugii profugorum contra interdictum regis aperuere.*” Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 4.--264.

<sup>n</sup> Polyb. Hist. Lib. 3. Tom. 1.--398, 399, 400. Edit. Schweighæuser. 8<sup>vo</sup> Lips. 1789.



The era of this expedition into Asia became a celebrated one in the Grecian calendars, and was marked in all their annals. Duris reckoned 1000 years from the destruction of Troy to this epoch: Ephorus from the return of the Heraclides to the same period 735: Timæus and Clitarchus 820: Eratosthenes 773, and lastly Phanius assures us that 715 had elapsed between that event and the Archonship of Evænetus, when Alexander entered Asia.<sup>o</sup> Diodorus, after the information that Alexander mounted the throne, during the magistracy of this Archon, is reduced to the necessity of fixing this expedition under that of Ctesicles,<sup>p</sup> circumstances rendering an interval of a year<sup>q</sup> necessary between Philip's death and the war, which his Son undertook against Persia. This opinion, however, is by no means preferable to that of St. Clement of Alexandria, who refers it to the Archonship of Evænetus his predeceffor.<sup>r</sup> It is at least certain, that Alexander's expedition into Asia was immediately subsequent to the fall of

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Thebes,

<sup>o</sup> “Επι Ευκλειτον αρχοντα εφ’ ὃ φασιν Αλεξανδρον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι, ὡς μὲν Φανίας, ἐτὶ ἑπτακοσία δεκαπεντε· ὡς μὲν Εὐφρος ἑπτακοσία τριακοντα πεντε· ὡς δὲ Τιμαῖος καὶ Κλειταρχος οὐτακοσία εἰκοσι· ὡς δὲ Ερατοσθένης ἑπτακοσία ἑβδομηκοντα τέσσαρα· ὡς δὲ Διέσις, ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλωσέως ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Αλεξανδρον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάσιν ἐτὶ χίλια.” Clement. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 1.--337. Fol. apud Morell. 1629.

<sup>p</sup> “Επ’ ἀρχοντος δ’ Ἀθηνησι Κτησικλείους· ————— Αλεξανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πορεύσεις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλεσποντὸν διεβίβασε τὴν δυνάμειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2. --172.

<sup>q</sup> Zozimus hath boldly postponed this Asiatic expedition to the third year of Alexander's reign. “Αλεξανδρος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ παρὰ χροῖα τὰ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδας διαθεῖς, τρίτῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἐτεῖ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπέλετο.” Zozimus. Lib. 1.--7, 8. 8<sup>vo</sup> Lips. 1784.

<sup>r</sup> Stromat. Lib. 1.--337.



Thebes, 335 years before Christ.—We learn from Arrian, that Alexander began his march early in the spring, and reached Sef-tus in twenty days,<sup>s</sup> which proves as the learned Usher<sup>t</sup> hath ob-served, that the passage of the Hellespont ought to be fixed about three months before Ctesicles entered into office. The operations of the army in Asia Minor, and the battle of Issus establish this calculation, which Corfini<sup>v</sup> hath adopted in his Attic annals, though the Jesuit Petau<sup>w</sup> from a devotion to Diodorus, rather more than warrantable, hath related these events and the remark-able passage of the Grecians under the magistracy of Ctesicles, notwithstanding they really happened under that of Evænetus.

The judicious counsels of the sage Memnon<sup>x</sup> were either not attended to, or not followed; and the Persians having determined  
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\* “Αμὰ δὲ τῷ ἡγεῖ ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαυνεῖ ἀφ’ Ἑλλεσποντοῦ ——— ἐς Σησόνα ἀφικνεῖται ἐν εἰκο-  
σι ταῖς πᾶσαις ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοῦντος ἐξορμησεως” (Arrian: Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 11.-44,  
45.) Diodorus Siculus hath recorded Antipater’s and Parmenio’s very curious advice to Alexan-  
der, previous to the commencement of his Asiatic expedition. “Τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἀντιπάτρων, καὶ Παρμενίω-  
να συμβουλευόντων, πρῶτον ΠΑΙΔΟΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ, καὶ τότε τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐγχεῖν ἐργαίῃς” (Diod.  
Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--171.) The recommendation of such a system of Royal Amusement might  
have warped a less vigorous and ambitious mind from its intended projects, and put a final stop  
to the Persian war.

<sup>s</sup> Usher, Annal. 151.

<sup>v</sup> Corfini Fast. Attic. Tom. 4.--41, 42.

<sup>w</sup> D. Petavius Doctrin. Temp. Lib. 13.

<sup>x</sup> “Μεμνῶν ὁ Ροδῖος παρενέει μὴ διὰ κινδύνου ἰέναι πρὸς τῆς Μακεδόνας, τῷ τε πλεῖστῳ πολὺ πλεονέκτα σφῶν,  
καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρόντος, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀπόντος Δαρεῖος” Προσέειπεν οὖν, τὸν τε χίλον ἀφανίζειν κατὰπατῆντας

to defend the passage of the Granicus, their army agreeable to Arrian's computation, consisted of twenty thousand cavalry and an equal number of infantry,<sup>y</sup> of which the mercenaries formed the greatest part. Diodorus Siculus magnifies the number into ten thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry,<sup>z</sup> whilst Justin taking the horse and foot together, extends it to six hundred thousand,<sup>a</sup> which shocks every idea of probability.

Arrian hath entered into a minute description of this celebrated battle, in which the Persian valour made victory for a long time doubtful, and which Alexander at last decided in his favour by plunging at the head of the Theffalian horse into the middle of the enemy. The defeated army lost, according to this writer's calculation,

τη ἵππῳ, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸν ἐμπιπρᾶναι, μὴδὲ τῶν πολεμῶν αὐτῶν φειδομένους· οὐ γὰρ μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἀπορία τῶν πεπιττηδίων· (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 12.--53.) Diodorus Siculus confirms the circumstance of Memnon's opinion with the addition of his wishing to carry the war into Europe, and make an attack on Macedonia. "Μεμνον μὲν ἐν ὁ Ροδῖος, διαβεβημένος ἐπὶ συνέσει στρατηγικῇ, συνεβουλευσε κατὰ σομά μὲν μὴ διακινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ χώραν φθίρειν, καὶ τῇ σπᾶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰργεῖν τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς εἰς τεμπροσθεν πορείας· διαβιβαζέιν δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ναυτικάς τε καὶ πεζικάς, καὶ τὸν ὅλον πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην μεταγαγεῖν·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--173.

<sup>y</sup> "Περσῶν δὲ ἵππεις μὲν ἦσαν ἐς δισμυρίους, ξένοι δὲ πεζοὶ μισθοφόροι ὀλίγον ἀποδεόντες δισμυρίων·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 14.--57.

<sup>z</sup> "Οἱ δὲ πάντες ἵππεις ὑπῆρχον πλείους τῶν μυρίων· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ τῶν Περσῶν ἦσαν μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δέκα μυριάδων·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--174.

<sup>a</sup> "In Acie Persarum sexcenta millia militum fuere." (Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 6.--270.) The commentators have unanimously given up this passage as indefensible, but they have not agreed in what manner its extravagance is to be corrected.

calculation,<sup>b</sup> a thousand horse upon this fatal day, and the whole of their infantry, two thousand of the mercenaries excepted, who were made prisoners, but Diodorus<sup>c</sup> reduces their loss to somewhat above ten thousand infantry and two thousand of their cavalry.

Reflecting on the determined resolution, with which the Persians resisted the efforts of the Macedonian army, and the obstacles, that a river, defended by a numerous body of troops, under the command of an able and experienced general, naturally presents, it is impossible to believe<sup>d</sup> that the Conqueror suffered only the trifling

<sup>b</sup> “Τῶν δὲ μὲν ἰππέων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπεθάνον εἰς χίλιους· Οὐ γὰρ πολλὰ ἡ θύξις ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐξετραπὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης τῆς μισθοφόρου.—Καὶ τετὺς τὴν τε φάλαγγα ἐπαύλων, καὶ τῆς ἰππέας πάντη πρὸς πρῶτον κελύσας, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ὀλίγου κατακοπτεῖ αὐτοὺς· ὥς διεφύε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ὅτι μὴ διελαθε τίς ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 16.--63.

<sup>c</sup> “Diodore réduit toute la perte de l'armée Perse à dix mille soldats.” But the Baron de St. Croix hath mistaken Diodorus Siculus, and forgotten the two thousand horse. “Ληξεῖν δὲ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν ἵππων, ἵπποις δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους δισχιλίων” (Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--17, 176.) It is a gross error, and I have rectified it. Plutarch computes the Persians to have lost twenty thousand of their foot, and two thousand and five hundred of their horse, but he takes it on tradition: “Λέγονται δὲ, πεζοὶ μὲν, δισμύριοι τῶν βαρβαρῶν, ἵπποις δὲ δισχιλιοὶ πεντακοσιοὶ πρῶτον” (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--673.) There is perhaps no possibility of ascertaining the precise number, but truth, in all likelihood, may lie between the two extremes.

<sup>d</sup> “On ne sauroit croire que les vainqueurs n'aient perdu que soixante et quinze cavaliers et trente fantassins.” From these repeated mistakes, it is to be apprehended that the Baron de St. Croix trusted for the fidelity of his references to some careless transcriber. Arrian to whom the appeal is made, states the loss as it now stands. “Μακεδόνων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἑταίρων ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκοσὶ καὶ πέντε τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπεθάνον.—Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἵππων ἵππερ τοὺς ἑξήκοντα, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἑκόντα.” (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 16.--63.) Justin reckons it at nine of the foot and

trifling loss of eighty-five of his cavalry and thirty of his infantry. Yet this is the account of it, which the historians of the life of Alexander have left us, who take a pleasure in diminishing the losses of their youthful Hero, and exaggerating the misfortunes of his enemies.

Arrian's account of the siege of Halicarnassus, which was defended with infinite courage and capacity by Memnon, hath been justly admired by military men, and the reason which he supposes to have had an influence upon Alexander's successful passage to mount Climax, on the borders of the sea of Pamphilus, will equally extort the cooler approbation of the philosopher. The Macedonian Monarch with a part of his army effected this dangerous march with as much happiness as temerity, a violent North-wind keeping back the waves, and preventing the sea from covering the sand with its usual depth of water.<sup>c</sup>

Strabo,

one hundred and twenty horse. "De exercitu Alexandri novem pedites, centum viginti equites cecidere." (Lib. 11. Chap. 6.--271.) But Aristobulus, as we learn from Plutarch, is more absurd, and imagines only thirty-four men to have fallen, of whom nine were foot soldiers. "Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον, Ἀριστοβούλου φησὶν τεσσέρα καὶ τριακοντα νεκρῶς γενέσθαι τοὺς πάντας, ὧν ἐν νεκρῶσι εἰναι." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera, Tom. 1.--673.) Orosius (Lib. 3. Chap. 16.) agrees with Justin, but as Orosius is only Justin at second hand, I do not know that he adds any thing to his authority.

<sup>c</sup> "Αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θαλάσσαν διὰ τοῦ ἀγιάλου ἦγε τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν· ἐπὶ δὲ ταυτῇ ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ ἀλλῶς, ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεμῶν πνεόντων· εἰ δὲ νοτοὶ κατεκοίεν, ἀπορῶς εἶχε διὰ τὴν ἀγιάλην ὁδοποιεῖν· τότε δ' ἐκ νοτῶν σκληρῶν, βορέαι ἐπιπνευσάντες, οὐκ ἀνέυ τῆς Θέας (ὡς αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐξηγουμένῳ) εὐμαρῶς καὶ ταχέως τὴν παράδουν παρῆσχαν." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 26.--92.

Strabo, who suppresses all the miraculous incidents of the march,<sup>f</sup> informs us, that the Macedonian soldiers passed through the sea with the water up to their waists, and Plutarch<sup>g</sup> hath cited some verses of Menander, in which the comic poet hath ridiculed the wonderful account, which several writers had given of this passage. Alexander in one of his letters<sup>h</sup> barely mentions it, and says, that after his departure from Phacelides he had advanced to mount Climax.

Josephus

Γ “Περὶ Φασηλίδᾳ δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ θαλάτταν γενᾶ, δι’ ὧν Ἀλεξάνδρος παρήλαε τὴν στρατείαν· ἐστὶ δὲ οὖρος Κλίμαξ καλούμενον· ἐπικείται δὲ τῷ Παμφυλίῳ πελάγει, γεννῇ ἀπολειπὼν παρὸν ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ταῖς μὲν νηϊμαῖσι γυμνιμένην, ὥστε εἶναι βασιμον τοῖς ὀδυνουσι· πλημμυζόντος δὲ τοῦ πελάγους, ὑπο τῶν κυμάτων καλυπτομένην ἐπιπλοῦ· ἥ μὲν ἐν διατῶ οὖρος ὑπερβασίς, περιόδον ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ἀντιπρὸς ἐστὶ· τῷ δ’ αἰγιαλῷ χρωματίζεται κατὰ τὰς εὐδίας· Ὅθεν Ἀλεξάνδρος εἰς χειμερίον ἐμπέσων καίρῳ, καὶ τὸ πλεονεπιτρέπων τῇ τύχῃ, πρὶν ἀνείναι τὰ κύμα ὥρμησε, καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ὑδάσι γενεσθῆαι τὴν πορείαν συνέβη, μέχρι οὐρανοῦ βαπτίζομεναι.” Strabo. Lib. 14. Tom. 2.--982.

Ε “Ἡ δὲ τῆς Παμφυλίας περὶ ἀφ᾽ ἧς πολλοὶ γέροντες τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἰπποδρόμοις γραφικὴ πρὸς ἐκπληξὴν καὶ ὀγκον, ὥς δεῖα τινὶ τύχῃ παρεχόμενα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν θαλάσσαν, ἀλλὰ αἱ ταχέως ἐκ πελάγους πρὸς σφοδρῶς, σπινθὴς δὲ λεπτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἡμέρας ὑπο τὰ κρημνιστὰ καὶ περὶ ἡμέρας τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς διακαλυπτοῦσαν ὁλοὶ δὲ καὶ Μενάνδρος, ἐν κωμῶδιαις παιζὼν πρὸς τὸ παρεδοχόν· Ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρῳδεσ ἦδη ταῦτο, καὶ ζήτω τίνα, αὐτοματῶς οὐτῶς παρέρχεται· καὶ διελθεῖν δηλοῦν δια θαλάσσης δεῖα τοῖον τιν, οὐτῶς ἐστὶ μοι βᾶδος.” Plutarch. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--674.

Η “Αὐτῶς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τερατευσάμενός, ὁδοποιῆσαι φησιν, τὴν λεγομένην Κλίμακα, καὶ διελθεῖν ὁρμησας ἐκ Φασηλίδος.” (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--674.) Yet Appian, in his parallel of Julius Cæsar with Alexander, by his expressions of “Δαιμονίως” and “Αὐτὴ τῇ Δαιμονίᾳ,” appears to intimate a received opinion of a supernatural impulse on the sea. “Καὶ τὸν Παμφυλίον κολποῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνακοπέσας διέτρεχε δαιμονίως, καὶ τὸ πελάγος αὐτῇ τοῦ Δαιμονίου κατεχόντος.” (De bell. civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--849. 8<sup>vo</sup>. Amst. 1670.) The latter part of this sentence is ridiculously rendered in this edition, “Fortuna marina undas cohibente.” Appian here certainly meant more than is usually understood by the Greek word Τύχη, which is properly translated, Fortune: the idea of both the heroes of his comparison being, in a very particular manner, under the special protection of Providence, exalts their characters and fell exactly within his plan.



Josephus was not proof against these fabulous relations, and having occasion to take notice of the passage of the Red sea, he expresses himself in the following terms, “Nor let any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration; if a way were discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord. While for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, King of Macedonia, who yet lived, comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way to go: I mean when it was the will of God to destroy the Monarchy of the Persians. And this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events let every one determine as he pleases.”<sup>1</sup> Josephus in this indiscreet reference to the passage of the Red sea, seems to admit that there were doubts<sup>k</sup> of the reality of that miracle,

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though

<sup>1</sup> Whiston's Josephus. Book 2. Chap. 16. Vol. 2.--63. “Θαυμασται δὲ μηδεὶς τὰ λόγῳ τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἴτε ἀσχετοῖς ἀνδράποισι καὶ πονηρίαις ἀπειροῖς ἐνέβηθη σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, εἴτε κατὰ βρῆμασιν Θεοῦ, εἴτε αὐτομάτων· ὅποτε καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν βασιλεῖα τῆς Μακεδονίας χεῖρας καὶ πόσιν γενομένοις ἐπεχώρασε τὸ Παμφυλίον πελάγῳ,\* καὶ ὁδὸν ἀλλήν οὐκ ἔχουσι παρῆσθε τῇ δ' αὐτῇ, καταλῦσαι τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν τῷ Θεῷ βέλονται· καὶ τούτοις πάντες ὁμολοῦσιν οἱ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις συνῆραψαμένοι· περὶ μὲν ἐν ταύτῃ ὥς ἕκαστος δοκεῖ διαλαμβάνετο.” Josephus. Lib. 2. Chap. 16. Tom. 1.--115.

\* “La mer de Pamphile se retira pendant deux jours,” is the French version. We learn from the Greek original that the sea “ὑπεχώρησε” retired, withdrew itself, but there is not a syllable that specifies the duration of the recess.

<sup>k</sup> Reland hath very ably vindicated the Jewish historian, respecting the last sentence of the Greek quotation from the imputation of incredulity, and he hath proved by repeated instances

that

though there were not any of the supernatural circumstances respecting the march under mount Climax, and he violates by the indecency<sup>1</sup> of the parallel both the sacred evidence of history and the religious creed of his ancestors.

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that Josephus made use of similar expressions, when not an atom of a doubt could have remained upon his mind. Whiston hath translated the whole of the remarks, (Josephus, Vol. 2. Dissertation. 1st. Sec. 82.) but I was sorry to observe that the “ΕΙΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΙΛΑΤΟΝ” hath been left by them both to shift for itself.—The learned Michaelis, in his notes on the 14<sup>th</sup> Chapter of Exodus, considers the event as a natural effect of a very violent wind, which blew in a direct opposition to the tide, but he afterwards allows, “Moïse ne put par aucun raison humaine prévoir le dessèchement de la mer qui sauva et lui et le peuple, il agit par inspiration divine. Ce dessèchement fut une œuvre de la Providence, qui avoit résolu de délivrer son peuple. La prévision certain de cet événement étoit surnaturelle au suprême degré, puisqu’il n’est jamais arrivé que cette seule fois, et sa connoissance prouvoit la mission divine de Moïse autant qu’aucun miracle eut pu le faire. Moïse qui contre le bout de sa marche et sans nécessité se tourna vers le côté d’Afrique de la mer-rouge qui lui coupoit le chemin de l’Asie, qui se vit environné d’Égyptiens et qui auroit du périr, s’il n’étoit arrivé un fait inouï et unique : ce Moïse qui au lieu d’exhorter son peuple resserré entre la mer et l’ennemi à une vigoureuse défense, lui promet, que Dieu le délivrera sans armes, lui ordonne de marcher vers la mer, sur laquelle il étend sa verge, et lui commande d’ouvrir un chemin à ce peuple, et qui agit comme s’il prévoyoit d’une manière sûre cette ébe extraordinaire arrivée cette seule fois dans notre monde, cet homme doit tenir sa mission du maître de la nature, qui seul pouvoit révéler ce qu’il avoit arrangé dans celle-ci pour le salut des Israélites.”—Monsieur Niebuhr hath cited in his description of Arabia this passage from Michaelis, and he very sensibly observes, “J’avoue, que le decouvrement du fonds de la mer qui même selon Mons<sup>r</sup> Michaelis étoit surnaturel au suprême degré, l’opération de la Providence, la tempête supposée qui dans l’espace de 24 heures souffloit de deux plages contraires, pendant que le vent y est constamment six mois Nord et six mois Sud, l’obéissance de la mer qui offrit au peuple d’Israël un chemin des que Moïse avoit étendu sa main sur elle, j’avoue, dis-je, que toutes ces circonstances me paroissent autant de miracles. Si tout cela s’est passé très naturellement, je ne fais pas encore ce que les favans entendent par le mot de miracle.” (Description de l’Arabie, 359, 360.) I refer the curious reader to this authentic traveller for some elucidations on this subject, and he may be farther gratified on consulting, the *Essai Physique sur l’heure des marées dans la mer rouge* of Mons<sup>r</sup> Michaelis, and *Le Clerc Differt. de Trajact. Mar. Idum.*

<sup>1</sup> Josephus hath been supposed by some persons, to have endeavoured to prove the possibility of

After the battle of Granicus, Alexander passed victoriously through Ionia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphylia, when he quitted the borders of the Ægean sea to penetrate into the interior part of the country, by Pisidia and the greater Phrygia to Gordium,<sup>m</sup>

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of the passage of the Israelites from Alexander's march; but whatever may have been his doubts and intentions, the miraculous passage of the Israelites is recorded on evidence that is indisputable. The veracity of the event is confirmed by various allusions to it in the sacred writings, and it is referred to by the prophets, (Isaiah 63. V. 12, 13. Habakkuk 3. 10.) who lived comparatively speaking, at no great distance from the time of this signal interposition of the Divinity in favour of his chosen people, and must have received the tradition, whilst all its wonderful circumstances were fresh upon the memory; who were above imposition; and who were immediately inspired by Omnipotence. As to the parallel itself, there is certainly an indecency in it, and what is more extraordinary, there is not the least resemblance.—In the passage of the Israelites, Moses stretches out his rod, and the sea in obedience opens and divides; the wind blows with violence from a new and unusual point of the compass; the waters become a wall on the right hand and on the left, and the Children of Israel continue their route on the dry sand.—Alexander on the contrary, with a part of his army made his way through the sea with the water up to the waist, as Strabo (Lib. 14. Tom. 2.—982.) expressly tells us, and owed in all likelihood the safety of the passage to the fortunate circumstance of a strong wind, setting off the shore and against the tide, which he had the good sense to take advantage of.

<sup>m</sup> It was at Gordium that Alexander cut the celebrated knot, on which the future destiny of Asia depended. Q. Curtius hath given the following account of it. “Notabile erat jugum adstrictum compluribus nodis in semetipfos implicatis, et celantibus nexus. Incolis deinde adfirmantibus, editam esse oraculo sortem, Asiæ potiturum, qui inexplicabile vinculum solvisset: cupido incescit animo fortis ejus implendæ. Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba, et Macedonum: illa expectatione suspensa, hæc sollicita ex temerariâ regis fiducia. Quippe series vinculorum ita adstricta, ut unde nexus inciperet, quoque se conderet, nec ratione, nec visu percipi posset, solvere adgresso injeceret curam, ne in omen verteretur inritum inceptum. Ille nequaquam diu lustratus cum latentibus nodis; nihil, inquit, interest quomodo solvantur: gladioque ruptis omnibus loris, oraculi sortem vel elusit, vel implevit.” (Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1—57, 58.) This was an expeditious method of solving the difficulty, but Aristobulus, according to Arrian, hath related the anecdote very differently. “Αριστοβούλος δὲ λέγει, ἐξελόντα τὸν ἐσθρὰ τὴν ρυμὴν, ὃς ἦν τίλος διαβεβλήματος διὰ τοῦ ρυμὸς διαμπᾶξ, ξένεγγον τὸν δεσμον, ἐξελκίσκει ἐξω τοῦ ρυμὸς τοῦ ζυγῶν.” He adds however afterward,

the ancient capital of the province. From Gordium he directed his march towards the East and arrived at Ancyra,<sup>n</sup> where he received the Paphlagonian deputies. They were charged with a commission to offer him the homage of their nation, and to request that he would not order any of his forces into their territories. The negotiation was successful, and their petition was agreed to, on a promise of their obedience to Calas, the Satrap of Phrygia. The story then of Q. Curtius, who tells us, that the Macedonian army entered into Paphlagonia,<sup>o</sup> hath no truth in it; and it is indeed contradicted by the historian himself, who makes Alexander

afterwards, that he was doubtful how the knot was absolutely loosened, though he considered the intention of the Oracle to have been fulfilled, from the subsequent appearances in the heavens. “Ὅπως μὲν δὴ ἐπραχθῇ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ δεσμῷ τούτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐκ ἔχω ἰσχυρισθῆναι. Ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαξῆς αὐτοῦς τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν, ὡς τοῦ λογιῶν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λυσεὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἐμβεβηκότες. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης βροντὰς τε καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανόθεν ἐπέσημηναν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐβύη τῇ ὑπερβείᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῖς φηνασθεῖσι τὰ τε σημεῖα, καὶ τὸ δεσμὸν τὴν λυσιν.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 3.--110, 111.

<sup>n</sup> “Ἐπ’ Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἐσέλλετο, κακεὶ αὐτῷ πρεσβεία ἀφικνεῖται Παφλαγόνων τὸ τε ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντων, καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἐμβαινοντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν χώραν ξυντῇ δυνάμει μὴ εἰσβαλεῖν ἐδεοντο· τούτοις μὲν δὴ προσάσσει Ἀλεξάνδρος ὑπακούειν καλὰ τῷ σατραπῇ τῆς Φρυγίας.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.--111.

<sup>o</sup> “Jamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat; ubi numero copiarum inito, Paphlagoniam intrat. —Omnisque hæc regio: paruit regi datisque obsidibus, tributum quod ne Persis quidam tulissent, pendere ne cogerentur impetraverunt. Calas huic regioni præpositus est.” (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.—59.) It appears from this passage of Q. Curtius, that Alexander marched after his arrival at Ancyra into Paphlagonia, which was then much nearer him, and consequently the Baron de St. Croix’s reasoning is not applicable. The error may have arisen from the city Ancyra in Phrygia having been mistaken for the Ancyra in Galatia, where the Paphlagonian deputies met Alexander, and which Arrian hath ascertained by the “τῆς Γαλατικῆς.” If Alexander was satisfied with the offers of the deputies, he certainly did not march into Paphlagonia against their explicit stipulation. The two historians are at issue on the point: I do not mean to decide the difference, but to state it fairly.



Alexander to march from Gordium to Ancyra, by which he must have passed Paphlagonia, at some distance on the left.

Cappadocia was involved in the fate of the neighbouring nations, and submitted to the Macedonian Conqueror, who posted a part of his troops on the same ground that the Younger Cyrus had halted upon, in his march to Cunaxa. Q. Curtius pretends that this post was the precise place, where Cyrus the Great had stopped in his expedition against Lydia.<sup>p</sup> Notwithstanding a mistake of this kind is of little consequence, yet in one sense it is material, and it may not be improper to refute it, in order to shew that he is very inaccurate in the most trifling details. We are told by Xenophon, who had a command under the Younger Cyrus, and was undoubtedly present, that he arrived at Dana<sup>q</sup> a great and flourishing

<sup>p</sup> "Ciliciam petens cum omnibus copiis, regionem quæ castra Cyri appellatur, pervenerat. Stativa ibi habuerat Cyrus, quum adversum Cræsum in Lydiam duceret." Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. C. 4. Tom. 1.—82, 83.

<sup>q</sup> "Κυρῶν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐξέλαυνε διὰ Καππαδοκίας, σταθμὸς τεσσέρας, παρασάγγας εἰκοσι καὶ πέντε, πρὸς Δανάαν, πόλιν οἰκημένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαιμόνα. Ἐνταυθα ἐμείνεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς.—Ἐνταυθεν ἐπειρώντο ἐσβαλλεῖν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἥ δὲ εἰσβολὴν ὁδοῦ ἀμάξιτος, ὀρθὰ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμνηχανὸς εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι εἰ τις ἐκώλυεν" (Xenophon de Cyri Exped. 17, 18. 4<sup>to</sup> Oxon. 1735.) Monsieur d'Anville thinks the text to have been corrupted, and that "Τυανᾶ" is the true reading, but if he founds his opinion on Strabo, "Κυρινᾶ στρατοπέδον διὰ Τυανῶν," (Lib. 12. Tom. 2.—813.) it is suspicious authority, and even Strabo wants a correction before the "Κυρινᾶ" can be transformed into "Κυρῶν."—Hutchinson seems to be of an opinion that "Ἀδανα" was the proper name of the city in question, and in support of it, he cites the following authors.—Ptolem. Lib. 5. Chap. 8.—Seylac Perip.—40.—Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 5. Chap. 27.—Steph. Byzant. Appian de Bello Mith.—Procop. Lib. 5. Ædific. 65.—Anton. Itin. 580.—See the dissertation prefixed to his edition of the Anabasis.



flourishing city, and after staying there three days traversed the boundaries of Cilicia.—Alexander's route agrees with that of the Younger Cyrus, and Arrian, who traces it with his usual accuracy, hath also informed us, that the Grecian Hero occupied the same ground before he passed the Gorges of Cilicia, that the Persian Prince had previously encamped on, with the ten thousand Greeks. '—As the Macedonian army descended into the plains of Cilicia, Arsames evacuated the province, which according to Q. Curtius, Darius had entrusted to him, and retreating with the forces under his command, set the city of Tarsus on fire,<sup>s</sup> and laid

<sup>r</sup> "Arrian nous dit que le Conquerant Macedonien campa," (a repetition in substance of the "Qui campa avec son armée") but the text of Arrian will hardly reach these expressions, as Alexander marched immediately to carry this dangerous pass by surprise, and left Parmenio with only the heavy armed infantry on this celebrated ground, who joined him early the next day. I have used a term that appears to me more analogous to the Greek.—"Προηγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας. Καὶ ἀφικομένος ἐπὶ τὸ Κυρὸν τοῦ ξυνοῦ Εὐνοφῶντι στρατοπέδον, ὡς κατεχομέναις τὰς πύλας φιλακαῖς ἰσχυραῖς εἶδε, Περμενίωνά μιν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει συνταῖς ταῖς ἐξ ὧν, ὅσοι βαρυτερον ὥπλισμένοι ἦσαν." —Τῇ δ' ὕστερα ἄμα τῇ εὐ ξυντῇ δυνάμει πᾶσιν ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας, κατεβλαῖεν ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.—111, 112.) The description which Q. Curtius hath left us of this passage, corresponds so perfectly with that of Xenophon, that there can be little doubt but they meant it for the same. "Angustias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit, hostem jugumque imminens unde inultus subeuntem aut prohibere aut opprimere, potuisset.—Alexander fauces jugi, quæ Pylæ appellantur, intravit. Contemplatus locorum situs, non alias magis dicitur admiratus esse felicitatem suam: obrui potuisse vel saxi confitebatur, si fuissent, qui in subeuntes propellerent." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.—84, 87.) The only hesitation that can remain will be, whether greater credit is due to Arrian and Xenophon, or Q. Curtius.

<sup>s</sup> "Brula la ville de Tarfe." I do not find that the city of Tarsus is said to have been actually burnt by Arsames, though it was set on fire if we are to believe Q. Curtius, and saved from destruction by the fortunate arrival of Parmenio. "Pervenit ad urbem Tarsos, cui tum maxima Persæ subiciebant ignem; ne opulentum oppidum hostis invaderet. At ille Parmenione ad inhibendum

laid the whole country waste. Arrian on the contrary, assures us that Alexander overreached Arfames, and that the Persian general abandoned Tarsus and Cilicia without such devastation,<sup>1</sup> or doing them any damage.—Information was given Alexander at Mallos, that Darius was encamped at Sochus in the Commagene, and on the receipt of the intelligence, he began his march, passed the mountains of Cilicia, and pitched upon a camp near the Myriander. Understanding that the Persian army had changed its position, and quitted the advantageous post that it had occupied, he repassed the mountains in the night<sup>w</sup> by the Gorges of Syria, at the very hour that the Persian troops were defiling by those of Amanica, two passes which serve for a communication between Cilicia and the regions on this side of the Euphrates.<sup>x</sup> Q. Curtius hath given a very confused account of these important marches, and hath left the different movements of the armies in great obscurity.<sup>y</sup> Diodorus<sup>z</sup> is still less exact.

bendum incendium cum expeditâ manu premissis, postquam barbaros adventû suorum fugatos esse cognovit, urbem à se conservatam intrat.” Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--88.

<sup>1</sup> “Ὡς τε ὁ Ἀρσαμὸς μάθων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν σποιδῆ φεύγει ἐκ τῆς Τάρσου παρὰ βασιλεῖα Δαρείου, οὐδὲν ἐλαψας τὴν πόλιν.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.--112.

<sup>w</sup> “Forte eâdem nocte et Alexander ad fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Darius ad eum locum quem Amanicas Pylas vocant, pervenit.” (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.—107, 108.) Arrian hath described these manœuvres more at large. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 7, 8.--119, 124.

<sup>x</sup> See Cellarii Geograph. Ant. Lib. 3. Chap. 6.

<sup>y</sup> “Q. Curce pour n’être pas entre dans aucun détail.” Instead of it, he enters into an account of these movements to some extent, (Lib. 3. Chap. 8, 9, 10.) but he certainly entangles himself in a labyrinth of confusion.

<sup>z</sup> Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—183. Scarce worth a reference.

At the break of day the Macedonians descended from the mountains, and discovered with astonishment the Persian line extended to a great length upon the plain. Alexander lost no time in forming his army, the right being protected by the mountains and the left by the sea,<sup>a</sup> a position which ought to have pointed out to Quintus Curtius the folly of advancing that the right was furrounded by the enemy.<sup>b</sup> This memorable battle was fought near Issus, and the Persian cavalry performed prodigies of valour, though fortune again followed the Macedonian standard. Many of the nobility of the Persian court fell in this engagement, and after a gallant and generous defence of their unfortunate Monarch, were slain immediately before his eyes.<sup>c</sup>—The Greeks in the Persian pay overturned every thing that was opposed to them, and the Macedonian phalanx manœuvring on unequal ground was under the necessity of breaking, and only repulsed at last with the utmost difficulty the repeated attacks that were made upon it by the enemy. Alexander was wounded in the action, but not by Darius, as Chares hath related, which was a circumstance that he certainly

<sup>a</sup> “Ὡς δὲ διεχωρεῖ ἐς πλάτος, ἀνεπτύσσεν αἰὲν τὸ κέραι. ἐς ζυγαγῶν, ἀλλήν καὶ ἀλλήν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξιν παρέχων. τῇ μὲν, ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ, ὥς ἐπὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 8.--124, 125.

<sup>b</sup> “Dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11. Tom.—124.

<sup>c</sup> “Circa currum Darii jacebant nobilissimi duces, ante oculos regis egregiâ morte defuncti, omnes in orâ proni, sicut dimicantes procubuerant, adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis.” (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 1. Tom. 1.--127.) Diodorus Siculus adds his testimony to the slaughter round Darius. “Περί μιν τὸ τῆ Δαρείου περὶ πύον τὰ χυ νεκρῶν ἐσώζευσθαι πολλοὺς.” Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--185.

certainly would not have omitted in his letter to Antipater, where he simply mentions his being wounded in the thigh.<sup>d</sup> Q. Curtius<sup>e</sup> reduces the loss of the conquerors to thirty-two of their infantry, and one hundred and fifty of their cavalry. Justin<sup>f</sup> makes it amount to one hundred and fifty of the former, and his number of the latter agrees with that of Q. Curtius and also Diodorus Siculus,<sup>g</sup> though the Grecian writer differs widely from them as to the infantry, and calculates the killed alone at three hundred. Arrian<sup>h</sup> only mentions the death of Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and of one hundred and twenty Macedonians of rank and dignity, who fell in the attack of the phalanx.<sup>i</sup> If however such a confi-

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derable

<sup>d</sup> “Τρωθήναι ξίφει τον μηρον, ὡς μεν Χαρης φησιν, απο Δαρειου (συμπεσειν γαρ αυτης εις χειρας) Αλεξ-ανδρου δε περι της μαχης επιτελλων τοις περι τον Αντιπατρον, ουκ εισηκεν, ὅστις ην ὁ τρωσας, ὅτι δε τρω-δην τον μηρον εχειριδιω, δυσχερες δ’ ουδεν απο τε τραυματου συμβαλη, γεγραφεν” (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--675.) Diodorus Siculus seems also to prove that the Macedonian Hero was wounded in the heat of the conflict, by some unknown hand. “Συνεβη και αυτον τον Αλεξ-ανδρον τρωθηναι τον μηρον, περιχυθεντων των πολεμιων” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--185.) and Q. Curtius only mentions the accident in general terms.--“Inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone perstrictum est.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11. Tom. 1.--128.

<sup>e</sup> “Ex parte Alexandri quatuor et quingenti faucii fuere : triginta omnino et duo ex peditibus de-fiderati sunt : equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11.--135.

<sup>f</sup> “Ex Macedonibus cecidere pedestres centum triginta, equites centum quinquaginta.” Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9.--279.

<sup>g</sup> “Των δε Μακεδωνων περὶ μεν εις τριακοσις, ὥσπερ δε περὶ ἑκατον καὶ πεντηκοντα” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--187.

<sup>h</sup> “Ενταυθα πιπτετ Πτολεμαίου τε ὁ Σελευκου, ανηρ αγαθος γενομενου, καὶ αλλοι ες εικοσι μαχιστα καὶ ἑκα-τον, των ουκ ημελημενων Μακεδωνων” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--134.) Arrian hath left us in the dark as to the whole of Alexander's loss, but the silence is suspicious.

<sup>i</sup> “Dans un seul choc.” I do not find that this expression is correct. Arrian in the passage  
just

derable number of persons of distinction fell in the attack of the phalanx only, our ideas of the number of the slain on the whole field of battle during this action, which was as long as it was bloody, must be very different from the accounts of the historians, that have been referred to. And though the historians agree in the loss of the defeated army, no substantial reason is to be deduced from it, that adds any further credit to their calculations. One hundred thousand of the Persian infantry, and ten thousand of their cavalry perished in this fatal day, according to the general account,<sup>k</sup> which was more than a sixth of their whole forces, which they reckoned at six hundred thousand men. Justin hath not adopted a much more moderate opinion, though he only reckons sixty-one thousand of their infantry<sup>l</sup> to have been killed, as he reduces the Persian army to four hundred thousand infantry, and one hundred thousand cavalry.<sup>m</sup> Perhaps the text of this writer may have been corrupted, and we ought to read three hundred

just cited makes use of the term "Ενταυθα πιπτεi," but it has not by any means that limited signification. I have left it more at large, and the Baron de St. Croix had before termed the attacks of the phalanx "Vives et reiterées."

<sup>k</sup> "Πληθὺς εἰς δέκα καλίστα μυριάδας καὶ ἐν τούτοις, ἵππους ὑπὲρ τῆς μυρίας" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.) "In acie autem caesa sunt Persarum peditum centum millia, decem vero millia interfecta equitum." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11.--134, 135.) "Κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐτελεύτησαν τῶν βαρβαρῶν πεζοὶ μὲν ὅλως τῶν δέκα μυριάδων, ἵπποις δὲ ἑκατὶ τῶν μυρίων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--187.

<sup>l</sup> "Caesa sunt peditum unum et fexaginta millia, equitum decem millia." Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9---279.

<sup>m</sup> "Darius cum quadringentis millibus peditum et centum millibus equitum in aciem procedit." Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9---277.



hundred thousand men instead of four hundred thousand, as the corresponding passage of Paulus Orosius<sup>n</sup> his copyist gives us room to imagine. The manœuvres of the two armies on this celebrated day are described with great perspicuity by Arrian, and he seems to be entirely free from the gross errors, with which Polybius hath reproached Callisthenes. The fragment of this author which contains this piece of military criticism, is entitled to a quotation at its full length. °——“In the account then which Callisthenes has given of this battle, he relates; that Alexander had already led his army through the passes which are called the Pylæ of Cilicia, when Darius, having advanced along the passes of the mountain Amanus, and being informed by the people of the country, that his enemy still continued his march forwards into Syria, resolved to follow him. That when he arrived near the passes of Cilicia, he encamped along the river Pyramus: that the ground which he occupied contained a space of only fourteen stadia from the sea to the foot of the mountain: and that the river, falling down the craggy sides of the mountain, ran obliquely through this ground, and passing over the plain, between

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<sup>n</sup> “Darius cum trecentis millibus peditum et centum millibus equitum in aciem procedit.”

P. Orosius, Lib. 3. Chap. 16.---182.

° “Φησι μὲν, Ἀλεξάνδρον ἡδὲ διαπεπορευθῆαι τὰ στενά. καὶ τὰς λεγόμενας ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ Πύλας. Διέρχον-  
 ὄν δὲ, ῥησισαμένον τῇ διὰ τῶν Ἀμανίδων λεγομένων Πύλων πορείᾳ, καταστὰς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Κιλικίαν.  
 πευδομένον δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἔχθρων, προκίειν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ὡς ἐπὶ Συρίαν, ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ συνεγίσσαντα τοῖς στρα-  
 τῶν, στρατοπεδεύσαι παρὰ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμὸν· ἐνθα δὲ τὸ μὲν τόπος τὸ διέστημα οὐ πλεον τῶν τεττάρων καὶ  
 δέκα σταδίων ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἕως πρὸς τὴν παραρρεῖαν. διὰ δὲ ταῦτα φερεσθαι τὸν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπικαρ-  
 σιον, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ὄρων εὐθείως ἐκρηγνυμένα (πολλὰ ποιοῦντα) τῶν πλευρῶν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεδῶν ἕως εἰς θα-  
 λασσαν

some hills that were rough and difficult of approach, discharged itself into the sea. After this description, he says; that, when Alexander returned back again with a design to engage, Darius and his officers drew up the whole phalanx in order of battle upon the very ground upon which they had encamped; and that they were covered in front by the river, which ran close to the camp: that they posted the cavalry near to the sea: next to these, in the same line, the mercenaries, along the bank of the river, and lastly the Peltastæ, adjoining to the foot of the mountain.

But it is not possible to conceive, that these troops could have been thus drawn up in order of battle between the phalanx and the river, if the river ran close to the camp: especially if we consider the numbers of which the several bodies were composed. For the cavalry, as Callisthenes himself affirms, amounted to thirty thousand; and the mercenaries to as great a number. Now it is easy to determine, what extent of ground this number of troops would require. The usual method of drawing up cavalry

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λασσαν αποτομης εχοντα κ̃ δυσβατες λοφες. Ταυτα δ' ὑποδεμεν̃, επει συνεγίζοιεν οἱ περὶ τον Αλεξανδρον, εξ ὑποστροφης επ' αὐτους αναχωρηντες κριναι, φησι, Δαρειον κ̃ τες ἡγεμονας, την μεν φαλαγγα ταξαι πασαν εν αυτη τη στρατοπεδεια, καθαπερ εξ αρχης ειχε, χρησασθαι δε τω ποταμω προβληματι, δια το παρ' αυτην ρειν την στρατοπεδειαν. Μετα δε ταυτα, φησι, τες μεν ἵππεις ταξαι παρὰ θαλαττιαν, τες δε μισθοφορες ἐξ̃ης τετοις παρ' αυτον τον ποταμον εχομενες τούτων, τους δε πελταστας συναπτοντας τοις ερ̃ισι.

Πως δε προεταξε τούτους πρὸ της φαλαγγ̃, τε ποταμω ρεοντ̃ παρ' αυτην την στρατοπεδειαν, δυσχερες κατανοησαι κ̃ ταυτα τω πληθει τούτων ὑπερχόντων. τρισμυριοι μεν γαρ ἵππεις ἵππερχον, ὡς αὐτος ὁ Καλλισθενης

Καλλισθενης

in the time of action is to range them eight in depth. It is necessary also to leave a certain space between each of the troops in front, that they may be able to perform their several motions. A single stadium then will contain eight hundred horse; ten stadia, eight thousand; and four stadia, three thousand and two hundred. According to this computation, a body of eleven thousand and two hundred horse would have filled the whole extent of fourteen stadia. And if the whole thirty thousand were formed in order of battle, there must have been three such bodies, within a very small number at least, drawn up each behind the other. In what place then were the mercenaries ranged? Was it behind the cavalry? But Callisthenes says no such thing. On the contrary he affirms, that the mercenaries were engaged against the Macedonians in the very beginning of the action. It is manifest therefore, that one half of the ground that has been mentioned, the part that was on the side of the sea, was occupied by the cavalry; and the other half, which was next to the mountain, by the mercenaries. And from hence we may clearly judge, what must have been the depth of the cavalry; and, by consequence, how very distant the river must have been from the camp.

### Afterwards

Καλλισθένης φησι, τρισμυριοι δὲ μισθοφόροι. πόσον δ' εἶχον ἔτοι τοπὴ χρεῖαν, εὐχερὲς καταμαθεῖν. Πλείστον μὲν γὰρ ἵππων ταῖς τεταῖς βαδίζοντες ἐπ' οὐκτις πρὸς ἀληθινὴν χρεῖαν ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἰλῶν ἑκάστης συντάξεως δεῖ διακρίματα τοῖς μετῴποις, πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς δύνασθαι καὶ τοῖς περισπασμοῖς εὐχερῆσαι. ἐξ ὧν τὸ σταδίον οὐκτακισίαι λαμβάνει, τὰ δὲ δεκά τες οὐκτακισχίλιαι, τὰ δὲ τετάρτα τρισχίλιαι διακρίσεις. ὥς ἀπὸ τῶν μυρίων χίλιων διακρίσεων πεπληρωσθαι τὸν τῶν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα σταδίων τόπον. ἐὰν δὲ πάντας ἐκτατῇ τες τρισμυριαί, βραχὺ λείπει τὴν τριψαλγίαν ἐπαλλήλων εἶναι τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν. Εἰς ποῖον ἢν τόπον ἐτατ-

τιτο

Afterwards he relates, that, when the enemy approached, Darius, who was in the centre of the line, called the mercenaries to him from one of the wings. But how was this possible? The very part in which the mercenaries were joined to the cavalry was itself the centre. If Darius then was among the mercenaries, how, or from whence, or to what place did he call them? He then adds also, that the cavalry upon the right wing advanced, and vigorously charged the Macedonians: that the latter received them with equal courage; and that the fight on both sides was maintained with the greatest bravery. But he forgets that there was a river between this cavalry and the Macedonians; and such a river too, as he had just before described.

Nor is this writer more exact in his account with respect to Alexander. He says, that this Prince first carried with him into Asia forty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse: and that, when he was ready to enter Cilicia, a new supply arrived from Macedon, of five thousand foot, and eight hundred horse.

τετο το των μισθοφορων πληθύνει; ει μη νη Δικα κατοπιν των ίππεων. αλλ'ε φησιν, αλλα σιμπεσωτακειναι τετες τοις Μακεδοσι κατα την επαγγλιν. εξ αν αναλκη, ποιεισθαι την εκδοχην, διοτι το μεν ήμισυ τε τοπε, το παρκα θαλατταν, ή των ίππεων επειχε ταξις, το δ'ήμισυ, το προς τοις ορεσιν, ή των μισθοφορων. εκ δε τετων ευτιλλογιζον, ποτον ύπηρχε το βαθύν των ίππεων, κ' ποιον εδει τοπων απεχειν τον ποταμον απο της στρατοπειδειας. Μετα δε ταυτα συνεγίζοντων των πολεμικων, φησι, τον Δαρειον αυτον, κατα μεσση ίπαρχοντα την ταξιν, καλειν τες μισθοφορες απο τε κερατύν προς αυτον. πως δε λεγεται τυτο, διαπορειν εσι. των γαρ μισθοφορων αναγκη κ' των ίππεων την συναφην κατα μεσον ύπαρχειν τον τοπον. ως'εν αυτοις αν τοις μισθοφοροις ο Δαρείυν, πα, κ' προς τι, κ' πως εκαλει τες μισθοφορες; Το δε τελευταιον φησι, τες απο του δεξιου κερατύν ίπποις επωχλοντας εμβαλειν τοις περι τον Αλεξανδρον' τες δε γενναίως δεζαμενες αντεπαγειν, κ' ποιειν μαχνην ισχυραν. οτι δε ποταμύν ην εν μεσω, κ' ποταμύν, οϊον αρτιως ειπων, επελαβετο.

Τουτοις

horse. If we take then from these three thousand foot, and three hundred horse; which is the greatest number that can be allowed for occasional and absent services; there will remain forty-two thousand foot, and five thousand horse. With this army Alexander, as the historian writes, being informed, after he had advanced beyond the Pylæ, that Darius had entered Cilicia, and was at the distance of only a hundred stadia behind him, immediately returned, and directed his march back again through the passes: having the infantry in his van; behind these, the cavalry; and the baggage in the rear. As soon as he came into the open plain, he separated the army from the baggage, and formed the troops into a phalanx, by thirty-two in depth. At some distance afterwards, he ranged them by sixteen in depth: and at last, when he was come near to the enemy, by eight.

Now these absurdities are even greater than those that were before remarked. For when a body of troops marches by sixteen in depth, if we allow the usual intervals of six feet between every rank,

Τουτοῖς δ' ἐστὶ παραπληροῖα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον. ζητοῖ γὰρ, αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν δι-  
αβάσιν, πρὶν μὲν ἔχοντα τετρασὺς μυριάδας, ἵππεις δὲ τετρακισχιλίους ἢ πεντακισίους. μελλόντι δ' εἰς Κι-  
λικίαν ἐμβαλλεῖν, ἄλλως εἰθελὶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, πρὶν μὲν πεντακισχιλίους, ἵππεις δὲ οκτακισίους. κ' ὅν ἐ-  
τις ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τρισχιλίους μὲν πρὶν, τριακισίους δ' ἵππεις, ἐπὶ τὸ πλεονέκων τὴν ἀπασιν πρὸς τὰς γεινόμενας  
χρείας· ὁμοῦς πρὶν μὲν ἀπολειφθήσονται τετρακισμυριοὶ δισχιλιοί, (ἵππεις δὲ πεντακισχιλιοί.) Τούτων ἔν-  
ι ποικιλιῶν, ζητοῖ, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον πυνθεσθαι τὴν Δαρεῖος παρεστῆσαν εἰς Κιλικίαν, ἕκτον ἀπεχόντα σταδίων  
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, διαπεπορευμένον ἤδη τὰ στενά. διοτι εἰς ὅπως οὐκ ἔστι πάλιν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῶν στενῶν, ἀν-  
τὰ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν φαλαγγίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς ἵππεις, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ σκευφορὸν. ἄμα δὲ τῷ πρῶτον εἰς  
τὰς εὐρυχωρίας ἐκπεσεῖν, διασκευάζεσθαι παραγγέλλοντα πᾶσιν ἐπιπαραμβάλλειν τὴν φαλαγγίαν, ἢ ποιεῖσθαι  
τὸ βάθρον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τριακοντὰ ἢ δύο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς ἑκατάδεκα, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, εἰσεγγίζοντα



rank, a stadium will contain only sixteen hundred men; ten stadia, sixteen thousand: and twenty stadia, thirty-two thousand. If Alexander therefore formed his phalanx by sixteen in depth, he must have filled a space of twenty stadia, and would still have wanted room for all his cavalry, and for ten thousand of his foot. Callisthenes then adds, that when this Prince was at the distance of forty stadia from the enemy, he ordered the phalanx to advance in an extended front towards them. A greater absurdity than this is scarcely to be conceived. For where is the ground, especially in Cilicia, that will admit such a phalanx as is here described to advance in an extended front against an enemy: a ground, containing twenty stadia in depth, and forty in length? The impediments also, which would inevitably break the order of such a disposition, are too many to be recounted. Callisthenes himself has mentioned one, which is alone sufficient. For he says, that the torrents, which descended from the hills, had formed so many pits in the plain, that the greatest part of the Persians were lost in those cavities as they fled.

But

τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰς οὐκ ἓξ. Ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μείζων τῶν προειρημένων ἀλόγηματ᾽. τε γὰρ σταδία λαμβανόντων ἀνδρᾶς ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις διασημασιν, ὅταν εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα το βαδῶσι, χίλιες ἑξακοσίαι, ἕκαστε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξ ὁδοῦ ἀπεχόντων φανερόν, ὅτι τὰ δεκά σταδία ληψέται μυρία ἑξακισχίλιαι, τὰ δὲ εἰκοσι τὴς διπλασίαι. ἐκ δὲ τεττῶν εὐδωρητοί, ὅτι, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐποίησε τὴν δύναμιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἑκκαίδεκα το βαδῶσι. ἀναγκασίον ἦν, εἰκοσι σταδίων ὑπερῆεν το τε τοπὸν διασημα, καὶ περιτέλειεν ἐτι τῆς μὲν ἵππεος πάντας, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν μίρους.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φησι, μετῴηδον ἀγειν τὴν δύναμιν, ἀπεχόντα τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίων. Τεττῶ δὲ μείζων ἀλόγημα δυσχερὲς ἐπινῆσαι. πού γὰρ ἀν' εὐροί τις τοιαύτη τοπὸς, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ κατὰ Κιλικίαν, ὥς ἐπὶ σταδίων εἰκοσι μὲν το πλάτῳ, τετταράκοντα δὲ το μήκῳ, μετῴηδον ἀγειν φαλαγγὶα σφισσο-

φοροί;

But Alexander, perhaps this writer might say, was willing to be ready to receive the enemy, in what part soever they should come to attack him. But nothing is more unfit for this purpose than the phalanx formed in an extended front, if this front be broken and difunited. And would it not also have been much more easy, to have ranged the several parts of this great body in the very order in which they followed each of them the other in the march: instead of forming the whole army in a single line, in which there must have been many vacancies, and leading it in an extended front to action, over a ground that was covered with bushes and broken cavities. He ought rather then to have formed a double, or a quadruple phalanx. One part following behind another. For if the ground would have admitted this order in the march, there would have been time sufficient to draw up the troops in the same order in battle: especially as he might have received notice from his scouts of the approach of the enemy, even while they were at a considerable distance from him.

Another fault in this description is, that the historian, while he represents the phalanx as advancing in an extended front over a

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plain,

φορον; τοσαυτα γαρ εστιν εμποδια προς την τοιαυτην ταξιν η χρηκη, α τις υδ' εξαριθμησαιτο ραδιως. εκ δε των υπ' αυτη τε Καλλισθενος λεγομενων ικανον υπαρχει προς ωσιν. της γαρ απο των ορων χειμαρρος καταφερομενης τοσαυτα φησι ποιειν εκρηγματα κατα το πεδιον, ως η των Περσων κατα την φυγην διαφθαλναι λεγασι της πλειους εν τοις τοιςτοις κοιλωμασι. Νη Δι, αλλ' ετοιμω εβλετ' ειναι. προς την των πολεμιων επιφανειαν. Τι δ' ανετοιμοτερον φαλαγγ' εν μετωπω διαλελυμενης η διεσπασμενης; ποσω γαρ εκ πορευτικης αγωγης αεμιζουσης παρεταξαι ραδιον, η διαλελυμενη εν μετωπω η διεσπασμενη δυναμι επ' την αυτην ευθειαν αναγαλιν. η συησται προς μαχην εν τοποις υλαδεσι η περιεκεκταταινοις; Δις περ ηδε παρα μικρον ην

κρητιλον.

plain, forgets to make the cavalry march before ; and places them upon the same line with the infantry. But the greatest of all his mistakes is this which follows. He says that Alexander, when he approached the enemy, drew up the phalanx eight in depth. The whole line therefore must have been equal in length to forty stadia. Or, let it be supposed, that the men stood so close together, as even to be wedged one within another. In that case, they must have covered at the least twenty stadia. And yet Callisthenes had before affirmed, that the whole length of the ground was less than fourteen stadia : that a part of it, which was nearest to the sea, was occupied by one half of the cavalry : that the other half was posted upon the right : and that between the whole line and the mountain there was left also a considerable distance ; that the troops might not fall under a body of the enemy, which was posted upon the sides of the mountain. I know indeed, that, in order to oppose this body, he here forms a part of the line in the figure called the Forceps. Let us allow then ten thousand men ; which is even a greater number than this purpose would require.

κρείττον, ἀγείν διφάλαγγιν ἢ τετραφάλαγγιν ἀριμαχοῦσαν· εἰ καὶ τοπον πρὸς πορείαν εὐρεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατον, καὶ το παρταξάι ταχέως σταδίον γε, δυναμένον δια τῶν προδρομῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ γινώσκειν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρουσίαν. Ὅ δε, χρεῖς τῶν ἀλλῶν, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἰσότητι προεθετώ, μετωπῆδον ἀγὼν τὴν δυνάμιν ἐν τοποῖς ἐπιπεδοῖς· ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰσοῦ ποιεῖ τοῖς πεζοῖς.

Το δε δὴ πάντων μεγίστον· ἡδὴ γὰρ συνεχὲς οὐτὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτῶν, εἰς οκτώ ποιηταὶ φησι το βιβλ. ἐξ ἑ δὲ ὅλον, ὅτι κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τετρασχιόντα σταδία εἶδε γενεσθαι το μήκῃ της φάλαγγος. εἰ δ' ὅλως συνησπισαν κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν οὕτως, ὥστε συνεχεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅμως εἰκοσι σταδίων εἶδε τὸν τοπον ὑπαρχειν. αὐτὸς δε φησι, λείπειν τῶν δεκατεσσαρῶν σταδίων. καὶ τῆτι μερὲς μὲν τι πρὸς θαλάττῃ της ἡμισείας ἐπὶ τὴ δεξι-

require. In that case it is evident, that there would remain according to Callisthenes, eleven stadia only at the most, for the length of the whole line: and that thirty-two thousand men, contained in a space of this extent, how closely soever they were crowded, must necessarily have been formed by thirty in depth. And yet Callisthenes affirms, that at the time of the action they were ranged by eight. Mistakes like these cannot even be excused. For what credit is to be given to things that are impossible? When a writer lays down the exact measure of the ground, fixes the number of the men, ascertains the distance of one man from another, and gives afterwards an account which is wholly incompatible with all these circumstances; the falsehood is too glaring to be pardoned.

It would be tedious to examine all the errors into which this writer has fallen. One or two more however may just be mentioned. He says that Alexander took care to draw up his army in

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ὅτι ἐτι δε την ὅλην τάξιν ἀπο των ὁρων ἱκανον τοπον ἀφεςταναι, προς το μη τοις πολεμοις ὑποπεπτακεναι τοις κατεχεσιν τας περὶ τας. ἰσμεν γαρ ὁ ποιεῖ προς τετες επικαμπιον. ὑπολειπομεθα κῆ νυν ἡμεις της μυριος πεζης, πλεον οντας της εκεινη προθεσεως ὡς ἐκ τούτων ἑνδεκα σταδίου ἐπι το πλεον ἀπολειπεσθαι το της φαλαγγὶς μήκος, κατ' αὐτον τον Καλλισθενην, ἐν οἷς ἀνάγκη τους τρισμυριοις κῆ δισχιλίους ἐπι τριακοντα το βαδῶ ὑπαρχεν συνησπικотας. ὁ δε φησιν, ἐς οὕτω τεταγμενων γενεσθαι την μάχην. Τα δε τοιαυτα των ἀμαρτηματων οὐδ' ἀπολογίαν ἐπιδεχεται· το γαρ ἀδύνατον ἐν πεταγμασιν αὐτοθεν εχει την πεισιν. διότερ ἦταν κῆ τα κατ' ἀνδρα διασηματα, κῆ το πικν του τοπου μεγεθῶ ἀρισμενον ὑποδωσι, κῆ τοι κεινῶν των ἀνδρων, ἀναπολογητον γίνετα το ψευδῶ.

Τα μεν γαρ ἅμα τούτοις ἀλογηματα μακρον ἀν εἰ λεγειν πάντα, πολλὴν τελευτὴν ὀλιγων. Φησι γαρ. τοις Ἀλεξανδρον σπουδάζειν κατὰ την τάξιν, ὅνα κατὰ τον Δαρειον αὐτον ποιησεται την μάχην. ὁμοίως δε κατὰ  
μεν

such a manner, that he might himself be engaged against Darius : and that Darius also had at first the same intention with respect to Alexander ; but that he afterwards altered his design. But he neither mentions, how these princes knew, in what part of their respective armies they severally intended to engage ; nor to what other part Darius retired, after he had changed his purpose. How again was it possible for the phalanx to advance, in order of battle, up the bank of a river, which was broken and uneven, and covered also with bushes in almost every part ? Such an absurdity can never be ascribed to Alexander ; who is acknowledged to have been trained both in the study and the exercise of war from his earliest age. It must therefore be imputed to the historian himself ; who, from a want of skill in matters of this kind, was unable to distinguish what was possible to be done from that which was impracticable.”<sup>p</sup>

If the spectators of these actions have published such faulty relations of them, and committed such considerable mistakes, the later writers who have too confidently followed them, must undoubtedly have been led into many errors by these dangerous guides.

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μεν αρχας κ̃ τον Δαρειον αυτον βουλευσθαι κατα τον Αλεξανδρον, υγειρον δε μετανησσαι. πως δ' επεγνωσαν αλληλους ε̃τοι, που της ιδίας δυναμειως εχουσι την ταξιν, η που μετεβη παλιν ο Δαρειος, απλως ουδεν λεγεται. πως δε προσανεβη προς την οφειν του ποταμου φαλαγγιτων ταξις, αποτομον αυσαν κ̃ βατωδη ; κ̃ γαρ τουτο πασα λογον. Αλεξανδρω μεν ουκ εποισεν την τοιαυτην αποπιαν ομολογοιμενην, παρλαμβανοντας περι αυτου την εν τοις πολεμικοις εμπειριαν κ̃ τριβην εκ παιδ̃ου τω δε συγγραφει μαλλον. ες δια την απειριαν ουδε το δυνατον κ̃ το μη δυνατον εν τοις τοιουτοις δυναται διεκρινειν.” Polybius. Lib. 12. Chap. 17, 18. Tom. 3.—416—427.

<sup>p</sup> Hampton's Polybius. Vol. 4.—77—86. 8<sup>vo</sup> Edit. 1773.



The battle of Issus was fought in the month Mæmacterion, in the fourth year of the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, when Nicocrates was Archon,<sup>1</sup> 333 years before Christ, and it decided the fate of Syria. Tyre had notwithstanding the courage to shut its gates against the Conqueror, and to punish a resistance as extraordinary as new to him in the regions of the East, it was immediately besieged. All the resources of art were employed in the defence of this unfortunate city, and they were seconded by the bravery of the inhabitants, who buried themselves under its ruins. An accuracy, which leaves the reader nothing to desire on the score of information, distinguishes the pen of Arrian<sup>2</sup> in his account of the labours of this memorable siege; whilst Q. Curtius,<sup>3</sup> from the luxuriance of his imagination, is rather the poet than historian. The construction of the mole, which Alexander made for the purpose of joining<sup>4</sup> Tyre to the continent, was too remarkable a piece of work to be passed over, without the embellishment of some fictitious decorations. An immense sea-monster agitated for some time the water, then forced itself upon the Grecian works, and after having been the astonishment of the besiegers and besieged, again plunged

<sup>1</sup> In Arrian, Nicocrates. "Τούτο τέλος τη μάχη εκείνη εγενετο, επι αρχοντος Αθηναϊοις Νικοκρατε, μηνος Μαιμακτηριωνος." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--139.) But Diodorus Siculus hath "Νικοκρατης." Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--181.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 18.--154—157.

<sup>3</sup> Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2, 3, 4. Tom. 1.--166—188.

<sup>4</sup> "Urbem à Continenti quatuor stadiorum fretum dividit." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--167.) A distance of about eight hundred yards. According to Scylax, "Απαιει σταδ. απο θαλαττης, γ." (Perip. 101.) which reduces it to six hundred.

plunged into the bosom of the deep. Sometimes the enormous beast was wholly visible; sometimes it was partly concealed by the waves, and it finally disappeared near the city walls.\* Q. Curtius adds, that the assailants believed the monster to have pointed out to them the precise place, towards which they were to carry on their works. The Tyrians entertained a different opinion of the prodigy, and considering it as an indication of Neptune's resentment at the Macedonian encroachment on his empire of the sea, they flattered themselves with the expectation of seeing the whole speedily swept away.

† Alexander during the siege of Tyre, according to Arrian<sup>w</sup> and Q. Curtius,<sup>x</sup> made an excursion into Arabia. Plutarch<sup>y</sup> only tells us that he marched against the Arabs of Anti-Libanus, which Q. Curtius mistakes for Libanus itself. The first of these mountains,

\* “Belua invitatæ magnitudinis, super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens, ad molem, quam Macedones jecerant, ingens corpus adplicuit; diverberatisque fluctibus adlevans semet, utrinque conspecta est, deinde à capite molis rursus alto se immerfit; ac modo super undas eminens magnâ sui parte, modo superfusus fluctibus, condita, haud procul munimenta urbis emerfit. Utrisque lætus fuit beluæ aspectus: Macedones iter jaciendo operi monstrasse eam augurabantur; Tyrii Neptunum occupati maris vindicem adripuisse beluam, ac molem brevi profecto ruituram.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--183, 184.

<sup>w</sup> “Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν δὲ ἰσσωπῶν ἱλᾶς τινὰς, καὶ τῆς ὑπασσωπῆας, καὶ τῆς Ἀγχιανῶν τε καὶ τῆς τοξότας, ἐπ’ Ἀραβίας ἐλλέεται εἰς τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον καλεμὲνον τὸ οὐδ’.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 20.--160.

<sup>x</sup> “Cum expeditâ manu Arabiam petiit.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 3. Tom. 1.--174.

<sup>y</sup> “Διαμνηθεὶς τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς περιστικούντας τῷ Ἀντιλίβανῳ ἡρατεύσας.” Plut. Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--678.

tains, from the proximity of its situation, naturally furnished the Macedonian army with many of the materials, which they wanted for the siege; and as the Arabs had disturbed and plundered the workmen,<sup>z</sup> Alexander went with a detachment against them, to repress their depredations, and revenge the insult, which gave occasion to the supposed conquest of Arabia. Pliny<sup>a</sup> then advances without any foundation whatever, that the Conqueror, after having reduced the country, dispatched a vessel freighted with incense, for Leonidas his preceptor.

A civil war prevented Carthage from affording Tyre any succours in its distress;<sup>b</sup> but Q. Curtius is guilty of an Anachronism,

<sup>z</sup> "In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes incompósitos Macedones adgressi triginta fere interficiunt, paucioribus captis." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--174.

<sup>a</sup> "Alexandro Magno in pueritiâ sine parsimoniâ thura ingerenti aris, pædagogus Leonides dixerat, ut illo modo, cum devicisset thuriferas gentes, supplicaret. At ille Arabiâ positus, thure onustam navem misit ei, exhortatus ut large Deos adoraret. (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 12. Chap. 32. Tom. 3.--26.) Pliny appears to have borrowed this anecdote from Plutarch, but it hath lost nothing by the repetition. "Επιθυμῶντι δὲ τοῖς Θεοῖς ἀρεῖδως αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιδρατῆμεναι τε λιβανῶν, παρὰν Λεωνίδης ὁ παιδαγωγῶν, 'Οὕτως, εἶπεν, ὡ παῖδα φίλως ἐπιθυμῶνται, ὅταν τῆς Λιβανωτοφορῆς κρατήσης· ὥς ἦν ἐκρατήσεν, ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν, Ἀπεσάλκα σοι ταλάντα ἑκατὸν Λιβανῶν καὶ κατίας ἵνα μηκέτι μικρολογῇ πρὸς τοὺς Θεοὺς, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ τῆς αἰρωματοφορῆς κρατῶμεν." (Plutarch. Apothegm. Plut. Opera, Tom. 2.--179.) The "navem onustam" I suspected from the first.

<sup>b</sup> "Je ne vois dans l'histoire," says Monfr Bougainville, "aucun fait qu'on puisse appliquer ici, si ce n'est peut être le complot tramé contre la liberté de Carthage, par un de ses premiers citoyens, que Justin nomme Hannon." (Just. Lib. 21. Chap. 4.--471, 472.) "Cette conspiration n'eut pas de suites, quoique le chef de l'entreprise eut armé vingt mille esclaves, et soulevé quelques nations Africaines sujettes de la république. Mais tant que la révolte dura, l'alarme dut être vive à Carthage; et comme l'auteur qui nous apprend le fait, n'en donne point la date, on peut, si je ne me trompe, presumer que ce fut cette guerre domestique qui réduisit les Carthaginois à n'être que

nism,<sup>c</sup> when he tells us that the Syracusians, who were then wasting Africa rendered it impracticable for the Carthaginians to send the powerful reinforcement to their metropolis, that they intended. —The successful descent of Agathocles,<sup>d</sup> near Tunis, 310 years before Christ, was the only instance in which the Syracusan colours appeared floating in the plains of Africa, and this was twenty-two years after the capture of Tyre, which was taken in the month Hecatombæon, in the first year of the 112<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, at the commencement of the magistracy of Anicetus, called Nicetus

que spectateurs oisifs du desastre de Tyr. Memoires sur le Voyage d'Hannon." (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des belles lettres. Tom. 28.--282.) Reineccius hath nearly the same ideas.—Hist. Jul. 11.--455.

<sup>c</sup> "In hisdem diebus forte Carthaginiensium legati triginta superveniunt, majus obsessis solatium quam auxilium: quippe domestico bello Pænos impediri, nec de imperio sed pro salute dimicare nuntiabant. Syracusani tunc Africam urebant, et haud procul Carthaginis muris locarunt castra." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 3. Tom. 1.--179.) The commentators have unanimously admitted the falsity of this historical error, and the Jesuit Rader (ad Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 11.--144) hath supposed, that Timoleon had defeated about this time the Carthaginians, and ravaged all their territories in Sicily, and that they were apprehensive of his landing with his troops and attacking Carthage. Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch, in their abstract of this great man's life, have given an account of his very formidable operations; but as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 16. Tom. 2.--145.) that a peace was agreed to by the Carthaginians and Timoleon, when Lyfimachides was Archon at Athens, in the second year of the 110<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and Tyre was not besieged till the latter end of the fourth year of the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, an interval of nearly six years must have effectually relieved them from any fears of such a serious attack.—Timoleon also died in the fourth year of the 110<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, four years before the siege of Tyre.

<sup>d</sup> "Agathocles, victis hostibus, urbes castellaque expugnat, prædas ingentes agit, hostium millia trucidat. Castra deinde in quinto lapide à Carthagine statuit, ut damna carissimarum rerum, vastitatemque agrorum, et incendia villarum, de muris specularentur." (Justin. Lib. 22. Chap. 6.--488.) The Baron de St. Croix's expression is "Par la descente aux Lathomies pres de Tanete." Diodorus Siculus states it "Προς τὰς καληµενὰς Λατοµίας," and he adds afterwards "Τυνητα καληµενον αναζευξας." (Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--410, 411.) Strabo fixes the situation more precisely: "Ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ ἐν ᾧ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδῶν Τυνὶς ἐστὶ πόλις, καὶ Θερµα, καὶ λατοµιαι τινες." Lib. 17.--191.

Nicetus<sup>e</sup> by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Nicerates by Diodorus Siculus.<sup>f</sup>

Tyre, celebrated for its riches, and its numerous colonies, was taken by assault after a resistance, that could not have been expected from a commercial people, who had long neglected their military establishment. But the love of liberty will often animate the common bosom with superior energy, and in a phrensy for their Freedom, men of ordinary capacities are frequently expanded into heroes. The loss of the besieged is reckoned at seven thousand by Diodorus Siculus,<sup>g</sup> and at six thousand by Q. Curtius,<sup>h</sup> but the difference in the calculation of the number of the prisoners is more considerable. The latter writer states those only, who were saved by a pious fraud of the Sidonians in Alexander's camp, at fifteen thousand;<sup>i</sup> Diodorus Siculus reckons them exclusive of

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<sup>e</sup> Dion. Halicarnass. de Dinarcho. Tom. 5.--649.

<sup>f</sup> Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--189. Much information on this subject may be collected from Meursius de Archon. Athen. Lib. 4. Chap. 13.

<sup>g</sup> "Οἱ δὲ Τυριοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήν τραπεῖντες, καὶ παρεκκλίσαντες ἀλλήλους, ἀνεφραζάντες γενωπύης, καὶ μαχημένοι πολλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντες κατεκοπήσαν, ὄντες πλείους τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--195.

<sup>h</sup> "Intra munimenta urbis sex millia armatorum trucidata sunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--187.) Arrian swells the account to eight thousand: "Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυριῶν ἑπτακισχιλίους" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.--171.) but he certainly takes in the whole siege.

<sup>i</sup> "Le dernier écrivain les fait monter à 15,000," but in the passage of Q. Curtius that is referred to, he hath only taken into his account the prisoners saved by the Sidonians, which is a circumstance that the Baron de St. Croix hath not attended to. "Multis tamen salutem fuisse Sidonii,



those that were transported to Carthage, to have been above thirteen thousand,<sup>k</sup> and Arrian takes the whole to have amounted to thirty thousand,<sup>l</sup> which hath the appearance of most probability, and is more consistent with the population of a city as flourishing as Tyre was then known to have been. Two thousand of these miserable captives were fastened upon crosses, and hung up by the order of the Conqueror, according to Q. Curtius<sup>m</sup> on the shore; and Diodorus Siculus<sup>n</sup> assures us that even all the Tyrian youth was comprised within this sanguinary sentence. It is however suppressed by Arrian,<sup>o</sup> and if we are to reason from the humanity

<sup>k</sup> Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum præsidia erant, hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant, sed recognitionis cum Tyriis memores (quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse credebant) multos Tyrionum etiam protegentes, ad sua perduxere navigia: quibus occultatis, Sidona deVecti sunt. Quindecim millia hoc furto subducta sævitia sunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--186, 187.

<sup>k</sup> "Diodore à 13,000." The Greek text estimates them at somewhat above thirteen thousand. "Σωματα δ' αἰχμηλῶτα τοσαῦτα το πλεθροῦ ἐνέειθον, ὥστε τῶν πλείων εἰς Καρχηδόνα κεκομισμένων, τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα γενεσθαι πλείω τῶν μυρίων καὶ τρισχιλίων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--196.

<sup>l</sup> "Καὶ ἐπράθησαν Τυρίων τε καὶ ξένων ὅτοι ἐγκατεληφθῆσαν, μάλιστα ἐς τρισμυρίους" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.-171.) Though there must have been many foreigners in a commercial city like Tyre, yet in comparison with the rest of the inhabitants they could hardly form an item in the calculation.

<sup>m</sup> "Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira præbuit regis. Duo millia, in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies, crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris spatium pependunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--187.

<sup>n</sup> "Τὸς δὲ νεὺς πάντας, οὐτάς οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐκρεμάσας" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--195.

<sup>o</sup> This barbarous anecdote is recorded by Diodorus Siculus and Q. Curtius, and though Arrian hath omitted it, I fear, it was from that sort of discreet silence, which furnishes a strong presumptive

humanity, which had hitherto distinguished Alexander's actions, whose heart prosperity had not yet hardened, a doubt, for his honour, may be still entertained of this signal instance of cruelty and vengeance.—Notwithstanding the precision with which Justin speaks of the siege of Tyre,<sup>p</sup> he hath to answer for some gross errors. This city, he pretends, was soon treacherously delivered into Alexander's hands, but from its vigorous resistance for seven months, it is evident that it was not so very speedily captured; and as all the historians agree in the account of its obstinate defence, the Tyrian glory is not to be sullied by the supposed

P 2

infamy

sumptive evidence of the truth of the accusation. In the lax system of ancient morality, the most flagrant abuses of the right of conquest were not uncommon; and we frequently read of whole nations being exterminated with a stern indifference to their sufferings. Julius Cæsar in a later period put the whole Senate of Vannes to death, though they had surrendered and thrown themselves upon his mercy, (Cæsar de Bello Gallico. Lib. 3. Chap. 16.--152. 4<sup>to</sup> 1737.) and the same destructive principles are often visible in the future progress of the Gallic war. (Cæsar de Bello Gallico. Lib. 6. Chap. 43.--340. Lib. 7. Chap. 28.--372.) In justice to Alexander's character, he certainly had some provocations for his extraordinary irritation. Q. Curtius tells us, "Quum et classem procul haberet, et longam obsidionem magno sibi ad cetera impedimento videret fore: caduceatores qui ad pacem eos compellerent, milit; quos Tyrii contra jus gentium occisos præcipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille suorum tam indigna nece commotus, urbem obsidere statuit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--171.) And Arrian hath substantiated the fact, though it varies in a few particulars. "Ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐχωρὸν ἐπιστῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς τε πολιορκίας τῇ τρεῖς ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες τινὰς αὐτῶν οἱ Τυρίοι πλεόντας ἐκ Σιδονῶ, ἐπὶ τῷ τείχεϊ ἀναβιβασάντες ὅπως ἀποπῶτον εἰν ἀπο τε στρατοπέδου, σφάζαντες ἐρρίψαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.--170, 171.) Retaliation and revenge were cardinal virtues in many Pagan codes of Ethics, and it is no wonder, that such a spectacle should have been followed by severe and exemplary vengeance.

P "Non magno post tempore per prodicionem capiuntur." Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 10.--284.

infamy of a few traitors.—It is the wish of Polyænus<sup>9</sup> to reduce almost all military manœuvres to stratagems, and we need not therefore be surprised to receive the information, that Alexander set out for Arabia, and the besieged in his absence made an advantageous and successful sally. On the intelligence of this accident, which Parmenio conveyed to him, he returned immediately, and whilst one part of the army made a feint of retreating and raising the siege, he entered with another body of his troops into Tyre, which had been left open and unguarded. Such circumstances are exactly consonant to the plan of Polyænus, but they do not in the least coincide with the relations of the other historians.

Alexander marched from Tyre to Gaza, and from Gaza into Egypt. This was the Macedonian route, as related unanimously and without any difference, by all the historians of the Conqueror's exploits. Josephus hath alone the confidence to contradict the united evidence of the companions of Alexander's arms, and he tells us that the Conqueror, being dissatisfied with the Jews, advanced after the capture of Gaza towards Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> with the resolution

<sup>9</sup> "Αλεξάνδρῳ Τυρὲ πολιορκίαν περιβάλων ἐπ' Ἀραβίας ἐπέλετο· Τυριοὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας αὐτῆ καταφρονήσαντες, τῶν τειχῶν προελθόντες, τοῖς Μακεδόσι προσέπεισοντες ἐκράτην πολλὰ· Πάρεμειων Ἀλεξάνδρον ἀνακαλεῖται· Ὁ δὲ διὰ ταχὺς ἐπανελθὼν, Μακεδόνων τῆς ἐγκλινοῦσας ἰδὼν, τοῖς ἡττομένοις ἐκ ἐβοήθησεν· ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν κενὴν ἀνδρῶν ὄρμησας, κατὰ κράτος αἰεὶ τὴν Τυρόν." Polyænus, Lib. 4. Chap. 8.--327. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1691.

<sup>1</sup> "Ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξελὼν τὴν Γάζαν, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀναβιβασθὲν ἐσπεύδακει." Josephus, Ant. Jud. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--580.

resolution of chastising<sup>s</sup> them for their attachment to Darius, and their refusal of military succours and provision for the Macedonian army. But a general of Alexander's talents could not have been so imprudent as to have left a city of this magnitude behind him, whose enmity to him was decided, and whose inhabitants might have cut off his supplies. Arrian, who hath minutely attended to every action of his hero, would undoubtedly have mentioned the reduction of a place of such importance, and in the very circumstantial journal of Alexander's marches which he hath preserved, that to Jerusalem would not have been omitted. The pacific disposition of the Jews, when the Conqueror approached, would as certainly have been spoken of, if this expedition from Gaza had not been an anachronism of Josephus, who seems to have varied the order of events, without breaking in upon their truth.<sup>t</sup>

Arrian

<sup>s</sup> “Qui avoient donné du secours aux Tyriens.” There is not a single syllable expressive of any support having been given to the Tyrians. I have abandoned, therefore, the sense of the French sentence and substituted in some measure the original sentiment of Josephus. “*Ἡξίω τε, αποστείλας γραμματα προς τον των Ιουδαίων αρχιερεα, συμμαχίαν τε αὐτῷ πεμπεῖν, καὶ αγοράν τῷ στρατεύματι παρασχεῖν, καὶ ὅσα Δαρείῳ προτερον ετελεν δωρεα τετῶ δίδοναι, τὴν Μακεδόνων φίλιαν ἐλομένον, καὶ γὰρ μετανοήσεν ἐπὶ τούτοις· τὲ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποκρίναμεν τοῖς γραμματοφόροις, ὡς ὅρκος ἐστὶ Δαρείῳ δεδοκῶς, μὴ βασιλεῖν ὅπλα κατ’ αὐτὸν, καὶ τετὺς εἰς ἀν’ ἡ Δαρεῖοι ἐν τοῖς ζώσι μὴ παραβήσεσθαι φησάντων· ἀκέρως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρῶξυνθη, καὶ τὴν μὲν Τύρον ἐκ ἐκρίνε καταλιπεῖν, ὅσον εἰδὼ μελλῆσαν αἰρεσθαι· παρασησαμένων δὲ ταύτην, ἠπειλήσε στρατευσεν ἐπὶ τον των Ιουδαίων αρχιερεα, καὶ διδάξεν πάντας δι’ αὐτὴν, προς τινὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς φυλακτεον τὴν ὅρκος· ὅθεν πονικωτερον χερσαμένῳ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, λαμβανει τὴν Τύρον· κατασησαμένων δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐπὶ τὴν Γαζαίων πόλιν ἦλθεν.*” Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1--579, 580.

<sup>t</sup> I cannot subscribe without some limitations to the authority of as late a writer as Eusebius, but his residence in Palestine, as Bishop Newton observes (Dissertation on the Prophecies. 15.—  
Vol.

Arrian<sup>v</sup> only tells us, that all Palestine had submitted, Gaza excepted, and consequently Alexander had no occasion to quit the line of his intended march, and enter Judæa, for the purpose of reducing it. An examination of the circumstances, related by the Jewish historian, may perhaps lead us to a definitive opinion on their authenticity.

The high priest Jaddua,<sup>w</sup> in the habit of the priesthood, and its splendid ornaments, leaves Jerusalem to meet the Conqueror, and implore his clemency. Alexander struck with his majestic mien, and venerable appearance, prostrates himself before him, and adores the Deity, whose name was engraven in golden characters upon the tiara of the pontiff.\* Parmenio, continues Josephus,

Vol. 2.--41.) adds weight to his evidence, and he asserts that Alexander marched from Tyre into Judæa. “Αλεξανδρῷ Τυρον ἄμα Σιδῶνι θηώσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐλθὼν, καὶ ταύτην παρεχλαβὼν, τὸν ἱερεῶν Ἰακώβου ἐτίμησε, θυτὰς τε τῷ θεῷ.” (Chron. Can. 177.) Usher agrees with him in opinion, (Annales, 160. Fol. 1722.) and also our Prideaux, who imagines Josephus to have been mistaken. Connect. of the history of the old and new Testament. Part. 1st. Book 7. Vol. 1.--386. Fol. 1728.

<sup>v</sup> “Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλεσμένης Συρίας, προσεχωρηκότα ἡδὴ εὐνεχῶς δὲ τις ὡνομαζήν Βατίς, κρητῶν τῆς Γαζαίων πόλεως, καὶ προσεήχεν Ἀλεξανδρῷ.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 25.--173.

<sup>w</sup> “Προεῖσι μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῆ πολιτικῆ πλῆθους, ἱεροπρεπὴ καὶ διαφερόμεν τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ποιημένων τὴν ὑπὸντήσιν εἰς τόπον τινὰ Σαφα λεγόμενον, ————— Ὁ Ἀλεξανδρῶς, εἰ παρῶν ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς λευκαῖς ἐσθήσιν, τῆς δὲ ἱερέως προεστῆτος ἐν ταῖς βυσσιναῖς αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερεῶν ἐν τῇ ἰακινθίνῃ καὶ διαχρυσῷ σόλῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα τὴν κιθάρην, καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐλάσμα, ὃ τὸ θεοῦ ἐγγεγραπτό ονόμα, προσελθὼν μόνῳ, προσεκύνησε τὸ οἶμα, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερεῶν πρῶτῳ ἡσπάσατο.” Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--581.

\* “Ce prince avoit sans doute un interprete pour connoitre le sens de l’inscription.” I do not think this sceptical sneer deserves a translation. It is in fact but the Crambe concocta of Vandale.

“Unde



sephus,<sup>γ</sup> expressed his astonishment to Alexander, and asked his reasons for this extraordinary humiliation, and why he had fallen so inconsistently at the high priest's feet, when universal adoration had hitherto been paid to him. Alexander replied, that he did not worship the high priest, but the Deity, whose minister he was; and he then informed his general, that a person like Jaddua, and in his habit, had appeared to him in a dream before he left Macedonia, and had announced to him the support of heaven in the war that he then meditated against the Persian empire. The Prince added, that on his seeing the high priest, he instantly recollected the figure in stature and dress, which had appeared to him.

The observation of Parmenio is a suspicious circumstance,<sup>z</sup> as Alexander had not hitherto pretended to any divine honours, nor exacted

"Unde vero is quoque inscriptionem istam in laminâ Tiaræ legere, atque ita intelligere potuerit, quod illa veri Dei nomen esset, ut inde talis adoratio ipsius, ante alloquium pontificis secuta sit, non comprehendo." Dissert. super Aristaram. 77.

γ "Παρμενιαν<sup>ς</sup> δὲ μόνον προσελθόντ<sup>ς</sup> αὐτῷ, καὶ πειθόμενος, τι δηποτε προσκυνῶντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων αὐτ<sup>ς</sup> προσκυνῶσι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῶν καὶ τούτων, εἶπε, προσκυνήσα, τὸν δὲ Θεόν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερεῶσιν αὐτ<sup>ς</sup> τιμήναι· τούτων γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἑπτάς εἶδον ἐν τῶν νῦν σχήματι, ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας τυγχάνων· καὶ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν διασκεπτομένῳ μοι πῶς ἀνκρατήσῃμι τῆς Ἀσίας, παρεκείλετο μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλὰ θάρσυντα διαβαίνειν· αὐτ<sup>ς</sup> γὰρ ἤγησέσθαι μοι τῆς στρατίας καὶ τὴν Περσῶν παραδῶσιν ἀρχήν· ὅθεν ἄλλοι μὲν ἑδέκα θεασάμεν<sup>ς</sup> ἐν τοιαύτῃ σολῇ· τούτων δὲ νῦν ἰδὼν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς ἑπτάς ἐπιμανομένης οὐσίας τε καὶ παρεκείλευστος, νομίζω θεῖα πομπὴν τὴν στρατίαν πεποιμέν<sup>ς</sup> Δαρσίου νικήσιν, καὶ τὴν Περσῶν καταλύσιν δύναμιν, καὶ πάντ'<sup>ς</sup> ὅσα κατὰ νῦν ἐστὶ μοι προσχωρήσιν." Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--581.

z "La discours de Parmenion prouve la fausseté de tout ce recit." I differ in opinion, and have accordingly qualified the expression. The subject I shall soon have occasion to resume.

exacted any adoration before the death of Clitus, which happened long after this supposed interview, so little apposite to the character and genius of the Grecian Hero. Besides, the high priest Jaddua died, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, some years before Darius mounted the Persian throne.—The immortal Newton, who hath poured such an effusion of light on the succession of the Jewish high priests after the return of that nation from captivity, makes also Jaddua to have lived under Artaxerxes Mnemon; and Simon the Just, agreeable to his computation, was the high priest at the time of the invasion of the Persian empire by the Greeks, who had succeeded to the exercise of this high function, on the death of his father Onias the son of Jaddua.<sup>a</sup>

Alexander, on his entry into Jerusalem, went up to the temple, where they shewed him the passages in the prophecies of Daniel, which related to him, and he afterwards offered sacrifices to the Deity on the Jewish altars.<sup>b</sup> Jealous of this preference, the Samaritans requested that he would also honour their city with his devotions.<sup>c</sup> But Josephus here contradicts himself, and forgets his

<sup>a</sup> Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology of ancient kingdoms. 363; 365. 4<sup>to</sup> 1728.

<sup>b</sup> “Εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρεκκλινέται· καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν, θύει μὲν τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τῆ ἀρχιερέως ἐφηγήσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερεὶα καὶ τὰς ἱερεῖς ἀξιοπρεπῶς ἐτιμῶσι· δείχνεισθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς Δαυιδεῦς βίβλου, ἐν ᾗ τίνα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταλύσειν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐδήλωε, νόμισας αὐτῷ εἶναι ὃ σεμνινόμενον, τότε μὲν ἡσθεὶς ἀπέλυσε τὸ πλῆθος.” Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1--582.

<sup>c</sup> “Καὶ παρεκκλινὲν, παρεκκλινόμενον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν τιμῆσαι καὶ τὸ πᾶς αὐτοῖς ἱερόν.” Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1--581, 582.

his having mentioned the permission to build a temple, given by Alexander during the siege of Tyre to these enemies of the Hebrews,<sup>d</sup> which could not have been finished in such a short space of time.

The same historian informs us, that Alexander was attended in this expedition by Phœnicians and Chaldæans,<sup>e</sup> but was it possible for them to have accompanied him, when they were at that time his declared enemies, and had not then acknowledged him for their master? <sup>f</sup> The high priest, is said likewise, to have applied to the Conqueror for a grant to the Jews, who were at Babylon,

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and

<sup>a</sup> “Προς Αλεξανδρον ἦκε· καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὶ τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας———συγχωρησάντων δὲ Αλεξάνδρου, πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενοι σπυθὴν, ὠκοδομήσει ὁ Σανδραλλεῖτης τὸν ναὸν.” (Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.--580.) Prideaux admits the Samaritan temple, in which Alexander was requested to sacrifice, must have been some other temple, or that Josephus must have been mistaken respecting it, as the foundations of that, which Alexander allowed them to build, could scarcely have been laid by this time. (Connect. of the History of the old and new Testament. Part 1st. Book 7. Vol. 1.--386.) Josephus however makes use of the words “Σπυθὴν ὠκοδομήσεν,” and provided the materials were ready, and they had a sufficient number of workmen, the building might have been soon run up. We are strangers to the dimensions of this edifice, but as Sanballat was the head only of a sect, which had separated from the mother church, in all likelihood it was not large. In the Jewish war, Josephus hath likewise given as a wonderful example of the rapidity, with which a wall of very considerable extent was constructed, that surrounded Jerusalem, “Τὸ μὲν ἐν τεύχεσιν ἐνὶ δεινότητι τεσσακοντα σταδίων ἦν, ἐξῶθεν δὲ αὐτῷ προσωκοδομήθη τρεῖς καὶ δέκα φρεσβία, καὶ τεττὼν οἱ κυκλοὶ δέκα συντηξίμηντο σταδίων· τρεῖσι δ’ ὠκοδομήθη τὸ πᾶν ἡμέραις.” De Bello Judaico. Lib. 5. C. 12. Tom. 2.--358.

<sup>c</sup> “Τῶν δὲ Φοινικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀκολούθων Χαλδαίων.” Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.--581.

<sup>f</sup> Phœnicia, must, I apprehend, have been then conquered: as to the Chaldæans, some individuals undoubtedly might have attended Alexander, and Josephus does not intimate their number.

and in Media, of the free exercise of their religion.<sup>e</sup> Yet this request, as the learned Moyle<sup>h</sup> hath judiciously observed, supposes Alexander to have been already in possession of that part of Asia beyond the Euphrates, which was evidently false, as it was reduced only under his subjection in the following year.

After a confirmation of the privileges of the Jewish nation, Alexander left Jerusalem, and marched with his army to the neighbouring cities. Josephus thus finishes his relation with an error. The Macedonian Conqueror neither retarded his march to attack places, which opened their gates to him, nor wasted his time in receiving their useless homages, but pushed forwards from Gaza directly to Pelusium.

To sum up the whole, the silence of Scripture weakens the credit of this narrative of Josephus;<sup>i</sup> which hath been adopted and

<sup>a</sup> “Ἰνα καὶ τὰς ἐν Βαβυλωνί καὶ Μηδίᾳ Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιτεταγμένοις νόμοις χρησασθαι.” Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.--582.

<sup>b</sup> Moyle's Remarks upon Prideaux. Connect. Moyle's Works. Vol. 2.--32. I confess I see no absurdity in this request. Alexander was then in a course of hostilities, which must directly have conducted him to Babylon and into Media, and the Jewish high priest might with strict propriety have petitioned for this liberty of conscience, foreseeing Alexander's future conquests, which were announced in the passages of the Prophet Daniel, that he had just shewn and explained to him.

<sup>i</sup> This hypothesis, though it may have a specious appearance of solidity, will not stand the test of severe and rigid examination. Numerous events are recorded in the sacred writings, but it cannot be from thence inferred, that they have recorded every event which happened. The Scriptural

and magnified by the writers of the middle age,<sup>k</sup> though its authenticity hath been disputed by several modern authors.<sup>l</sup>

Taking into cool and candid consideration the circumstances of the event, they may not altogether be as glorious for the cause of religion, as some persons, with more superstition than discernment, have piously believed. The true faith could not have received much honour from the casual adoration of the worshipper of other Deities, that it disclaimed; and its hallowed altars were but little dignified with any incense from the hand, which was ready to scatter it with the same profusion on those of Apis and of Belus.

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tural prophecies extended only to the great revolutions, which were to pass in the world; and from the nature of them, it could not possibly be expected, that they should have included events of a subordinate and inferior class. They ceased previous to Alexander's existence, and the old Testament hath not transmitted to us any detail of the Jewish history later than that of Nehemiah, which ends at least a century before the birth of Alexander. From the days of Nehemiah, there is a chasm to the Apocryphal book of Maccabees, which commences with the last acts of Alexander's reign. The silence, therefore, of the scripture is not extraordinary, and weighs nothing in the scale of argument.

<sup>k</sup> Eusebius, *Chronic. Num.* 1685.—G. Syncellus. 260.—Cedrenus. 121.—Zonares. *Lib.* 4.—197, 198.

<sup>l</sup> This celebrated passage of Josephus hath opened a wide and extensive field of controversy. Collins (*Scheme of Lit. Prophecy.* 452.) rushed on to the attack with all the impetuosity of a Volunteer. Vandale (*Dissert. super Aristeam.* Chap. 10.) and Moyle (*Moyle's Works.* Vol. 2. --26.) advanced with more regular approaches, and endeavoured to overpower it by weight of metal. The sceptical Boyle (*Dict. Article Macedo.*) coldly admitted the possibility of its being supported, without throwing in a single succour for its relief; but the two Chandlers (*Vindication of his defence.* Chap. 2. Sect. 1.—And S. Chandler's vindication of Daniel. 76.) with Lloyd (*Letter to Sherlock*) and Prideaux (*Connect. Part 1st. Book 7. Vol. 1.--384, 385.*) have defended it with the ability of veteran Generals. Bishop Newton (*Dissert. on the Prophecies.* Vol. 2.) hath since thrown up a number of fresh Entrenchments.



In all likelihood the whole was a Jewish artifice, and a stratagem invented by that nation,<sup>m</sup> after the death of Alexander, to furnish it with pretensions to the favour and protection of his successors. In later ages a similar history prevailed in the East, and Ghengizkhan pretending to have seen in a dream a Christian bishop, sent on the part of heaven to assure him of its assistance, the vision of the Tartar prince was as advantageous to the Christians of the Mogul empire, as that of Alexander had been to the Jews.<sup>n</sup>

Gaza

<sup>m</sup> I persuade myself I am not capable of attempting to defend a passage if I believed it to be entirely untenable. I trust, however, I may be allowed to suggest, that admitting many of the circumstances related by Josephus to be improbable; and, giving the objections in their widest range every advantage, erroneous; it still does not follow that the whole is false. The dream and the interview may be substantially correct, the additional embellishments faulty and fictitious. The belief of the "*Ὀράς ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ*" (Hom. Iliad. Lib. 1.--63.) was very ancient, and with the Jews, when the prophetic spirit ceased with Malachi, particular dreams were considered as a secondary kind of inspiration, and the Almighty was supposed on extraordinary occasions to adopt this method of communication. "The same Providence," to borrow an expression of the late amiable and learned Dr. Jortin, "which conducted Cyrus and prevented the rash Macedonian from perishing till he had overthrown the Persian empire,"\* might have taken this mode of rousing his ambition, and directing it to the great end which it had in view. Allowing the scriptural prophecies to allude to Alexander, which hath never been disputed, he then becomes confessedly an immediate instrument in the hands of Providence, and I see no violation of consistency in the supposition of his having been led by a preternatural impression on his mind to their completion.

<sup>n</sup> "Ce fut par le même motif, que dans les siècles fort postérieurs, les Chrétiens de l'orient inventèrent une histoire à peu près semblable. Ghengizkhan y joue le même rôle qu'Alexandre; et la vision du prince Tartare est aussi avantageuse aux Chrétiens, que celle du roi Macedonien l'avoit été aux Juifs." I owe the reader some explanation of my reasons for this violent deviation from the sense of the French sentence. The Christians are there expressly charged with a direct forgery, and the following evidence is referred to, in support of the accusation. "Après avoir ainsi soumis toute la Tartarie, les Mogols marcherent vers Otrar, qui appartenoit au Sultban de Kharifme. ——— Ghengizkhan qui n'étoit occupé que du projet de cette guerre, fit publier que  
Dieu

\* Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol. 1.--36.

Gaza opposed the rapid progress of the Macedonian arms as much by its advantageous position, as the generous defence of its governor and garrison. Alexander received a contusion on the shoulder by the discharge of a catapulta,<sup>o</sup> and Q. Curtius hath described a singular conflict between an Arabian soldier and the Macedonian Monarch, in which he was again wounded.<sup>p</sup> This fact hath been discreetly suppressed by the other historians, and they have by this means avoided the absurdity, that Q. Curtius hath been guilty of. After the reduction of Gaza, if we are to believe

Dieu lui accordoit sa protection. Il pretendoit avoir vû en songe un Eveque, qui etoit venu lui annoncer de la part de Dieu, ce personnage, comme il depeignit à son reveil, etoit Mardenha, Eveque du pays d'Igour. Ghengizkhan voulut le voir. On ajoute que c'est depuis ce temps-la, qu'il a protege toujours les Chretiens." (Hist. Gen. des Huns par Deguignes, Tom. 3.--41, 42.) I am afraid such injurious misrepresentations could only arise from wilful inadvertency.

<sup>o</sup> "Αὐτῷ δὲ βαλλεται καταπελτη διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος διαμπαξ, καὶ τὴν θώρακα ἐς τὸν ὤμον." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177.) Aristander the soothsayer, if we are to believe the historians, had requested Alexander to be careful of his person on this day, and Arrian adds "Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῶς μὲν πρὸς ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐξω βέλους αὐτὸν εἶχεν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 26.--175.) Q. Curtius varies the account: "Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum. Quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat, sagittâ ictus est: quam per lorica[m] adactam, stantem in humero medicus ejus Philippus evellit. (Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--200.) Plutarch barely mentions the wound: "Ἐτρώθη μὲν γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐῖς τὸν ὤμον." Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--679.

<sup>p</sup> "Arabs quidam Darii miles, majus fortunâ suâ facinus ausus, clypeo gladium tegens, quasi transfuga genibus regis advolvitur. Ille adfurgere supplicem recipique inter suos jussit. At gladio barbarus strenue in dextram transtato, cervicem adpetit regis: qui exiguâ corporis declinatione evitato ictu, in vanum manum barbari lapsam amputat. (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--200.) Hegesias states in substance the same anecdote. "Ἀνὴρ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς γόνατα συγκάμβει εὐδοξε τατ' Ἀλεξάνδρον τῆς ἰκεταῖας ἕνεκα πρᾶξας· πρὸς μὲν δ' ἐγγὺς μικρὸν ἐκκίνει τὸ ξίφος ἐνεγκάντ' ὑπο τὰ πτερύγια τῇ θώρακι ὥς γεγενεσθαι καὶ τὴν πλῆγην ἐκασιωτάτην· ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπώλεσε, κατὰ κεφαλῆς τυπτὼν τὴν μηχανιστά." Dion. Hal. de struct. Orat. 146. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1728.

believe this writer,<sup>4</sup> Alexander fastened Betis to his chariot wheels, and with a barbarous indignity, in imitation of Achilles, dragged the dead body of the unfortunate governor round the walls. To magnify the defence of Betis, Q. Curtius falls into a palpable contradiction, and though he assures us he sustained the various assaults of the enemy with a very moderate<sup>5</sup> garrison, he makes no scruple a few lines afterwards of reckoning the loss at ten thousand Persians or Arabs.<sup>6</sup> Most of the inhabitants of Gaza, capable of bearing arms, had gallantly fallen in its defence; the rest were distributed in slavery,<sup>7</sup> and Alexander according to Arrian, converted

<sup>4</sup> "Q. Curtius hath heightened this affecting tragedy. "Betim, egregiâ editâ pugnâ, multisque vulneribus confectum deferuerant sui: nec tamen segnius prælium capeſſebat, lubricis armis ſuo pariter atque hoſtium ſanguine. Sed quumque undique adducto, inſolenti gaudio juvenis elatus alias virtutes etiam in hoſte miratur, non ut voluiſti, inquit, morieris Betis: ſed quidquid tormentorum in captivum invenire poteſt, paſſurum eſſe te cogita. Ille non interrito modo, ſed contumaci quoque vultu intueus regem, nullam ad minas ejus reddit vocem. Tum Alexander, videtiſne obſtinatum ad tacendum? inquit. Num genu poſuit? num ſupplicem vocem miſit? vincam tamen ſilentium, et ſi nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellato. Ira deinde vertit in rabiem: jam tum peregrinos ritus novâ ſubeunte fortunâ. Per talos enim ſpirantis lora trajeſta ſunt; religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi: gloriante rege, Achillem, a quo genus ipſe deduceret, imitatum ſe eſſe pænâ in hoſtem capiendâ. (Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--202--204.) If the whole is not a fiction, it is to be hoped, there are at leaſt ſome poetical embellishments.

<sup>5</sup> "Modicoque præſidio muros ingentis operis tuebatur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1. --197. 198.

<sup>6</sup> "Cecidere Perfarum Arabumque circa decem millia." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1. --205.

<sup>7</sup> "Les habitans de Gaza furent reduits en eſclavage." Arrian hath tranſmitted to us their reſolution and deſpair. "Οἱ δὲ Γαζαῖοι, καὶ τῆς πόλεως σφισιν ἡδὴ ἐχόμενης, ζυνεσηκότες ὅμως ἐμαχόντο, καὶ ἀπεθάνον πάντες αὐτῇ μαχόμενοι, ὥς ἑκάστοι ἐταχθήσαν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177.) I have receded from the Baron de St. Croix and nearly adopted Arrian.

verted his new conquest into a place of arms, which he peopled by a colony drawn from the neighbouring country. \* Strabo on the contrary pretends that this unfortunate city was destroyed, † and remained a desert. Gaza made however, a very considerable figure in the different wars of Alexander's successors, and the judicious geographer might probably have confounded its state under the two first ages of the Seleucides, with its melancholy fate, after its total destruction by Alexander Zebina, 96 years before Christ. ‡ It then became a prey to the flames, as the prophet Amos § had denounced, and its inhabitants were carried into captivity from their attachment to the Ptolemies. The similitude of the name of the two princes, to whom it owed its misfortunes, easily led Strabo into the mistake.

¶ Egypt submitted without a struggle, and Alexander determined  
to

\* “Την πόλιν δε ξυνοικισας εκ των περιεικων, εχρηστο οσα φρεσειω es τον πολεμον.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177.

† “Ειθ’ ο των Γαζαιων λιμην πλησιον\* υπερκενται δε η η πολς εν επτα σαδιοις, ενδοξω ποτε γενομενη, κατεσπασμενη δ’ υπο Αλεξανδρου η μενεσα ερημω.” Strabo. Lib. 16.--1101, 1102.

‡ Josephus hath compressed into a short compass a history of this siege. Ant. Jud. Lib. 13. C. 13. Tom. 1.--670.

§ “I will send a fire on the wall of Gaza, which shall devour the palaces thereof.” (Amos. Chap. 1. Verse 7.) A new Gaza appears, however, to have risen, like a Phœnix, out of its ashes, which is mentioned on several of the medals of Hadrian's days. Sozomen speaks of it, (Lib. 5. C. 5.) and a list of its Bishops may be still found in the dormant repository of Ecclesiastical Knowledge, the history of Councils and their Acts. A livelier reader may consult Reland. Palest. Lib. 3.--787.

to signalize his new empire by the foundation of a city, which might one day be the staple of the commerce of the two seas, and unite by interest the inhabitants of the eastern and western world. The Conqueror consulted his true glory in the enterprize. Humanity recommended the design, and a work of this kind is entitled to a more distinguished column in the page of history, than those monstrous edifices which are at once the prodigies of human labour, and the lasting monuments of the tyranny of the princes, that erected them amidst the misery and unavailing agonies of their subjects.—The Macedonian Monarch in his foundation of Alexandria opened a new source of riches, and Egypt soon enjoyed the happiness of seeing its land cultivated by a multitude of industrious inhabitants, and the temples of its Deities filled with crowds of people enriched by its commerce.

Arrian<sup>z</sup> and Plutarch<sup>a</sup> tell us, that the plan of Alexandria was traced out under Alexander's inspection, and that the workmen were ordered to begin the buildings previous to his departure for

<sup>z</sup> “Και εδοξεν αυτω ο χωρῷ καλλιστῷ κτισαι εν αυτω πολιν, κῃ γενεσθαι αν ευδαιμονα την πολιν” Πο-  
θῷ εν λαμβανει αυτον τα εργα, κῃ αυτῷ τα σημενα τη πολει εθηκεν, ινα τε αγοραν εν αυτη δεμασθαι εδει,  
κῃ ιερα οσα, κῃ Θεων ὧν τινων, των μεν Ἑλληνικων, Ισιδης δ’ Αιγυπτιας, κῃ το τευχῷ η περιβεβλησθαι.—  
—Επι τετοις δε ποθῷ λαμβανει αυτον ελθειν παρ Αμμουνα ες Λιβυην”, Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib.  
3. C. 1.--3.--181, 183.

<sup>a</sup> “Εργα κελευσας, εσχασθαι τες επιμελητας, αυτῷ ὁρμησεν εις Αμμωνῷ ὁδον.” Plutarch. De Vit.  
Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--680.



for Ammon; <sup>b</sup> Diodorus Siculus <sup>c</sup> and Justin <sup>d</sup> date its foundation after that expedition, but Q. Curtius <sup>e</sup> refers both the idea and the execution to his return. These different historians, Q. Curtius excepted, may be correct in their information, and it is not improbable that Alexander directing his march along the seashore, might first have traced the outlines of this flourishing city, <sup>f</sup> and afterwards on his return augmented the number of the workmen, and pushed on by his encouragement the numerous and stately edifices, that were then rising up. This is notwithstanding no excuse for Diodorus Siculus, who fixes the

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## foundation

<sup>b</sup> “L’époque de la foundation d’Alexandrie est rapportée par Plutarque et Arrien avant celle du depart d’Alexandre pour Ammon.” I have not scrupulously adhered to the French text, but by this means the discordant historians are more in unison, and to justify me I have the evidence of Plutarch and Arrian that I have just cited. Q. Curtius, still remains at an irreconcilable distance.

<sup>c</sup> “Ἐπανεληθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον· Κρινας δ’ ἐν ταυτῇ πόλιν μεγάλην κτίσαι, πρὸς τετὰρξαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμελείαν, ταυτὴν καταλείπομενοις, ἀναμεισον τῆς τε λιμνῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης οἰκίσαι τὴν πόλιν.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.

<sup>d</sup> “Reverfus ab Hammone Alexandriam condidit.” Justin. Lib. 11. Chap. 11.--286.

<sup>e</sup> “Alexander ab Hammone rediens, ut a mari ad Marcotim paludem, haud procul insulâ Pharo sitam, venit; contemplatus loci naturam, primum in ipsâ insulâ statuerat urbem novam condere. Inde, ut adparuit, magnæ sedis insulam haud capacem; elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc est Alexandria.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 8. Tom. 1.--220, 221.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch hath preserved a curious anecdote respecting Alexander’s tracing out the plan of this city. “Καὶ γῆ μὲν ἑ παρὴν λεύκη· τῶν δὲ ἀλφειτῶν λαμβανόντες ἐν πεδίῳ μελαγχρῶ κυκλοτερὴ κοίλον ἦγεν, ὃ τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὐθείαι βασεις, ὡς πρὸς ἀπὸ κρασπεδῶν εἰς σχῆμα χλαμυδῶ ὑπελαμβανῶν, ἐξίστη συναγῆσαι το μεγεθῶ· ἡσθεντὶ δὲ τῇ διάθεσιν τε βασιλεὺς, αἰφνιδιον ορνίθες ἀπὸ το ποταμῆ, καὶ τῆς λιμνῆς, πλῆθει τε ἀπείροι, καὶ κατὰ γένει πικνοδαποί, καὶ μέγιστοι, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον κατακίροντες, νεφέσιν εἰκοτῆς, εὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑπελίποντο τῶν ἀλφειτῶν· ὥς τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον διαταραχθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς οἰωνοὺς· ἑ μὴν γὰρ τῶν μαντικῶν θάρρειν παραινέντων πολυκρεσάτην γὰρ οἰκίζεσθαι πόλιν ὑπ’ αὐτῇ, καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐνομένην τροφόν.” (Plutarch, De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--680.) A less accommodating fortune-teller might have put a different construction on the accident.

foundation of Alexandria under the Archon Aristophanes, in the second year of the 112<sup>th</sup> Olympiad,<sup>g</sup> which was in fact the sixth year of Alexander's reign; though it only became the fifth according to this historian, Alexander having begun his reign, by his computation under the magistracy of Evænetus, as was before observed. The mistake of Diodorus Siculus most probably occasioned those of Eusebius<sup>h</sup> and St. Cyrill,<sup>i</sup> who have pretended to establish the foundation of Alexandria in the seventh year of Alexander's reign. But the true period of its foundation was the fifth year of the Macedonian Monarch's reign, which was the first year of the 112<sup>th</sup> Olympiad when Nicetas was Archon, as appears by the subsequent military operations of this Prince.—The certainty of the date is also confirmed by the Canon of Theon, which allows only four years to the reign of Darius Codomanus, and begins to reckon that of his victorious rival in the 417<sup>th</sup> year of the era of Nabonassar, the conquest of Egypt and the foundation of Alexandria being included in the four first years after Alexander's accession to the throne of Macedon.<sup>k</sup>

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<sup>g</sup> Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200. T. Livy differs very considerably, (Lib. 8. C. 24. Tom. 2.--760.) and also Julius Solinus (C. 32.--45.) from Diodorus Siculus, but Dodwell (Differt. de Cycl. 10. 73.) hath fully proved the former to have deceived himself, and Salmasius (Plin. Exer. 338.) allows the latter to have been mistaken.

<sup>h</sup> "Αλεξάνδρεια ἡ κατ' Αἰγυπτὸν ἑβδομῶ εἰσι Αλεξάνδρῃ ἐκτίσθη." Eusebii Chronic. Port. 177.

<sup>i</sup> "Ἐκατοσὴ δωδεκάτῃ οὐμπιαδὶ Αλεξάνδρειαν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγυπτὸν κτισθῆναι φασιν, εἰσι ἑβδομῶ τῆς Αλεξάνδρῃ βασιλείᾳ." (St. Cyrill. contra Julian. Lib. 1. Julian. Opera. Tom. 2.--13.) To give the Patriarch fair play, he only states it on tradition.

<sup>k</sup> This subject hath been extremely well explained by Mons. de Freret. Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. Tom. 27.--149, 150.

The new city had at its foundation a form, nearly similar to that of the Macedonian<sup>1</sup> mantle, but as it increased, it naturally lost its shape and figure. Mons<sup>r</sup> d'Anville's plan of Alexandria, which he sketched out with such pains and accuracy, hath little resemblance with this part of the Macedonian dress as engraven by Cuper,<sup>m</sup> and he endeavours in vain to apply it to the ground between the Mareotic lake and the shore of the Egyptian sea. Its circuit, according to Pliny,<sup>n</sup> was about fifteen miles, which may amount to one hundred and twenty stadia, instead of eighty agreeable to the calculation of Q. Curtius.<sup>o</sup> But the sentiments of these two authors will not materially differ, if we suppose with Mons<sup>r</sup> d'Anville<sup>p</sup> Pliny's stadium to have been a third less than that of Q. Curtius. This measure will be found likewise to be nearly adequate to the thirty stadia by seven or eight, which Strabo<sup>q</sup>

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hath

<sup>1</sup> “Τὸν δὲ τυπὸν ἀποτελῶν χλαμυδὶ παρὰ πλεῖστον.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.) Or as Pliny more diffusely expresses it, “Ad effigiem Macedonicæ Chlamydis orbe gyrato laciniofam, dextrâ lævâque anguloso procurfu.” (Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. 10. Tom. 1.--562.) Strabo hath described the figure with mathematical precision: “Τὸ χλαμυδοειδὲς σχῆμα ἐγγέγραπται ὕψος, ὡς τε τὰ μήκῃ τῷ μήκει ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ ὅσον εἶναι τὸ μέγιστον, καὶ τὸ πλατῆ τῷ πλατῆ.” Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--179.

<sup>m</sup> See the Homeri Apothefis. 158.

<sup>n</sup> “Metatus est eam Dinochares Artichectus, pluribus modis memorabili ingenio. xv. M. passuum laxitate infessa.” Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--561. 562.

<sup>o</sup> “Complexus quidquid est loci inter paludem et mare, octaginta stadiorum muris ambitum destinat.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 8. Tom. 1.--221.

<sup>p</sup> Memoire sur l'Egypt Anc. et Mod. 56. 57.

<sup>q</sup> “Ἐστὶ δὲ χλαμυδοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐδαφὸς τῆς πόλεως· ἢ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μήκους πλευρὰ εἰς τὰ ἀμφικλυσ-  
τα, ὅσον τριακοντὰ σταδίων ἔχοντα διαμέτρον· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλατῆ οἱ ἰσθμοὶ ἑπτὰ ἢ οκτὼ σταδίων ἑκατέρωθεν.”  
Strabo. Lib. 17. --1143.

hath given to this city. Josephus<sup>r</sup> reckons its length to have been thirty stadia and its breadth ten,<sup>s</sup> but Diodorus Siculus<sup>t</sup> with less probability relates that it reached four hundred stadia in length, and was a Plethrum broad.

When Diodorus Siculus passed through Egypt, the number of Freemen in Alexandria were said by the Police officers to amount to three hundred thousand,<sup>w</sup> and if we adopt the calculation of Ctesicles,<sup>x</sup> respecting the proportion between the Freemen and the  
slaves

<sup>r</sup> “Μηκρὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς τριακοντα σταδίων, εὐρὺ δὲ ἕκ ἐλαττοῦν δεκά.” Joseph. de Bello Judaico. Lib. 2. C. 16. Sect. 4. Tom. 2.--190.

<sup>s</sup> The Baron de St. Croix observes “Cette mesure est conforme à la longueur de trente stades sur dix de largeur, donnée par Strabon et Joseph à cette ville.” I am not altogether satisfied that he perfectly understood the Greek geographer, but Father Harduin in his notes on Pliny (Hist. Vit. Tom. 1.--562.) appears to have looked through the same intellectual telescope, and in a generous court of criticism “De minimis non curat lex.” The “sur dix” applied to both authors is inexcusable, and I have made each writer responsible for his own calculation.

<sup>t</sup> “Ἀπο γὰρ πύλης ἐπὶ πύλην διήκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σταδίων ἔχει τὸ μῆκος, πλεῖον δὲ τὸ πλάτος.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.) The Plethrum was originally reckoned to contain a hundred square feet, but “the practice of some Greeks,” as the great historian of the decline of the Roman empire hath judiciously remarked, (16th Chap. Vol 1.) and the authority of Mons. de Valois would lead us to believe the “Πλεθρον,” was used to express the Roman “jugerum,” which consisted of twenty-eight thousand eight hundred square Roman feet.

<sup>w</sup> “Καθ’ ὃν γὰρ δὴ καιρὸν ἡμεῖς παρεβόλομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, εἶπαν οἱ τὰς ἀναβάδας ἔχοντες τῶν κατοικούντων, εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν διατρίβοντα εὐεutheres, πλείους τῶν τριακοντα μυριάδων.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--201.

<sup>x</sup> “Κῆσις κληῖς δὲ ἐν τριῇ χρονικῶν φησὶν ἐπὶ καὶ δεκάτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Ἀθηναίων ἐξέλασμον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Δημήτριον τε Φαληγεῶς τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἐνέρεθῆναι Ἀθηναίων μὲν δυσμυρίους πρὸς τοὺς χίλιους, μετοίκους δὲ μυρίους, οἰκούντων δὲ μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα.” (Athenæus. Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--272.) This immense  
population

slaves at Athens, we cannot reckon the whole mass of inhabitants at less than fifteen hundred thousand, which is an astonishing degree of population considering the obstacles that checked it. Notwithstanding the precaution which the Royal Founder had taken in its construction, that the streets might be open to and refreshed by the Etesian winds,<sup>y</sup> the new capital of Egypt was very unhealthy, and the inhabitants had only dead and stagnant water for their common use. Their diet was also very ordinary, and consisted of bad vegetables of the worst qualities, paste, dry cheese, inferior kinds of fish, snails, snakes, the flesh of asses and of camels, and in general all sorts of salt provisions.<sup>z</sup> From such a regimen, as Galen hath observed, the leprosy and other inveterate

population did not still equal the Roman Capitation about this period. (See Just. Lips. Elect. Lib. 1.—De Magnitudine Romæ. Lib. 1. 7.) In the quotation from Athenæus, I have adopted the ingenious emendation of the “Ἑπτα καὶ δεκάτη,” with which the Baron de St. Croix hath furnished me, on the very strong evidence of Demetrius having been the Athenian Archon in the fourth year of the 117th Olympiad, which he produces from Corfini. Fast. Attic. Tom. 4.—63, 64.

<sup>y</sup> “Εὐφορία δὲ τῆς ξυμφορμῆς ποιήσας διαπνεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἀνεμοῖς\* καὶ τῶν πνεοντῶν μὲν διὰ τὴν μεγίστην πειλαγὴν, κατὰ ψυχόντων δὲ τὸν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αἶρα, πολλὴν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν εὐκρασίαν καὶ ἰγνίαν κατεσκεύασε” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—200.) “Καὶ οἱ ἐτησίοι πνεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν βορέων, καὶ τὴ τοσούτην πειλαγὴν\* ὥστε καλλιζα τὴ θέρην Ἀλεξανδρεῖς διαβῆσιν.” (Strabo. Lib. 17. —1143.) A warm and luxuriant description of Alexandria may be found in Achilles Tatius. (Lib. 5. C. 1. 397—400. 8<sup>vo</sup> Lips. 1776.) Monf. Savary (Letters on Ægypt, Vol. 1.—21 —42.) hath amplified it, and introduced the revolutions that it hath experienced, but with both ingenuity and taste.

<sup>z</sup> Yet to this wretched bill of Fare, Diodorus Siculus gives a flat contradiction. “Καὶ πρὸς οὖν πληθεὶ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν ἀνηκόντων πολὺ διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—201.



inveterate scorbutic complaints were very frequent. Cocchi, from whom the remark is borrowed, describes the soil of Alexandria as very hot and impregnated with salts, and he adds that from the expence of the incessant watering which the vegetables wanted, they were not within the reach of general use, and the malady from this circumstance was both very common and very virulent.

The place on which Alexandria stood, had been used to feed cattle<sup>a</sup> in, and served occasionally for the retreat of a few miserable shepherds or fishermen, who resided in the little village of Racotis. Alexander looked undoubtedly with a penetrating eye into futurity, and made choice of the situation without any attention to the salubrity of the air, from the commercial advantages that it offered, and which soon rendered it one of the most flourishing cities of the ancient world.<sup>b</sup>

The

<sup>a</sup> “Οἱ μὲν ἐν προτέροις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς ἀγαπῶντες οἷς εἶχον, καὶ ὁ πᾶν ἐπεισάκτων δεομένοι, διαβιβλῆμενοι πρὸς ἅπαντας τὰς πλεοντάς, καὶ μαλίστα τὰς Ἑλλήνας (πρὸς θηταὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ ἐπιθυμῆται τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατὰ σπανὶν γῆς) ἐπέστησαν φυλακὴν τῷ τοπῷ τούτῳ, κελεύσαντες ἀπεργεῖν τὰς πρὸς οἰοντάς· κατοικίαν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐδόσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀγορεύουμένην Ρακωτίν, ἥ νυν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πόλεως ἐστὶ μέρος· τὸ ὑπερχεῖμενον τῶν νεωγίων· τότε δὲ κώμη ὑπῆρχεν· τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης βυκόλοις παρέδοσαν, δυνάμεναι καὶ αὐτοῖς κωλύειν τὰς ἐξωθεν ἐπιοντάς.” (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1142.) The “Βυκόλοις παρέδοσαν” leads me to believe with Diodorus Siculus that Alexandria was not confined to the flesh of camels and of asses.

<sup>b</sup> A modern traveller who visited the Turkish empire on a professional plan, hath passed a high encomium on the Macedonian Monarch’s discernment in his choice of the situation of Alexandria. “L’Egypte située pour associer à son commerce, l’Europe, l’Afrique et les Indes, avoit besoin d’un port. Il devoit être vaste, et d’un abord facile : les bouches du Nil n’offraient aucun de ses avantages : le seul port qui fût sur cette côte, placé à douze lieues du fleuve, dans un défert”

The difficulties, which the Macedonian soldiers had to encounter in their march from the frontiers of Egypt to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, have been greatly exaggerated by all the historians, and particularly Q. Curtius, whose hyperbolical expressions are alone sufficient to create a doubt of their veracity.

Diodorus Siculus refers the origin of the temple of Ammon to the time of Danaus; <sup>c</sup> and we are informed by Apollodorus <sup>d</sup> that Cepheus exposed his daughter Andromeda by the counsels of this oracle. But even the fables of Herodotus <sup>e</sup> on the foundation of the

désert, ne pouvait être apperçu que par un génie hardi. Il falloit y bâtir une ville; ce fut lui qui en dessina le plan. A quel degré de splendeur n'a-t-il pas porté Alexandrie dans sa naissance? il la joignit au Nil par un canal navigable, et utile à la culture; elle devint la ville de toutes les nations, la Métropole du commerce; il en honore les cendres que les siècles de barbarie ont amoncelés, et qui n'attendent qu'une main bien faisante qui les délaie, pour cimenter la reconstruction du plus vaste edifice que l'esprit humain ait jamais conçu.

Ses ruines offrent à chaque pas le temoignage de son ancienne splendeur; et le manteau Macédonien que son enceinte représente, en repellant le fondateur, semble en avoir imposé aux Barbares dans les différentes saccagemens de cette ville. Les mêmes murailles qui garantissaient son industrie et ses richesses, défendent encore aujourd'hui ses ruines, et présentent un chef-d'œuvre de maçonnerie." Mem. du Baron de Tott. Tom. 2.--179. 180. 12<sup>mo</sup> Paris, 1785.

<sup>c</sup> "Το μὲν ἔν τε μὲν φασὶν ἰδρυσασθαι Δαναὸν τὸν Αἰγυπτίου" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--198.

<sup>d</sup> "Ποσειδῶν — πλημμύραν τε ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπέμψε καὶ κητῶν Ἀμμῶν δὲ χρῆσαντῶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς, εἰαν ἡ Κασσιόπειας θυγατὴρ Ἀνδρομέδα προσέθῃ τῷ κητὶ βοῶν· τὸτο ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Κηφεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἐπράξε, καὶ προσέδωκε τὴν θυγατέρα πέτρα." Apollod. Lib. 2. C. 4.--98. Ed. Heyne. 12<sup>mo</sup> Gott. 1782.

<sup>e</sup> "Τὰδὲ δὲ Δωδωναιῶν φασὶ αἱ προμαντιες, δύο πελειάδας μελαινας ἐκ Θηβῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀναπταμένας, τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφείας ἀπικεσθαι, ἰζόμενῃ δὲ μιν ἐπὶ φηγον, αὐδαξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρώπων, ὥς χρεὼν εἶη μαντήσιον αὐτὰς Διὸς γενεσθαι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἱπολαβεῖν θεῶν εἶναι τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλο-  
μενοι

the edifice, are favourable to its antiquity and carry back its existence to a very remote period. The Oracle of Jupiter Ammon was highly celebrated in the first ages of Greece. Cræsus<sup>f</sup> consulted it on the probable successes of the war, which he intended to undertake against the Persians, and the Lacedæmonians<sup>g</sup> and Eleans afterwards frequently resorted to it. Temples rose in gratitude for the supposed munificence of the local Deity, and Pindar composed hymns in honour of the shrine, which were transmitted to the Ammonites in Lybia. One of these sacred odes, which had been engraven on a triangular column near an altar erected to this Divinity by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, was legible in the days of Pausanias, and is mentioned by him.<sup>h</sup>

The Oracles of Ammon, of Dodona and of Delphos, acquired a great influence in Greece, and possessed an unlimited confidence on the most important occasions. Whenever there were any apprehensions

μενον αυτοις, κ' σφεας εκ τουτ' ποιησαι' την δε es τους Λιβυκς οικημενην πελειαδα, λεγῃσι Αιμμωνος χρησ-  
τηριον κελευσαι της Λιβυκς ποιειν' εσι δε κ' τουτο Δι'." Herodotus. Lib. 2.--130.

<sup>f</sup> "Λιβυκς δε παρ' Αιμμωνα απεστειλε αλλως χρησμενης ----- ει επιχειρει επι Περσας στρατευεσθαι." Herod. Lib. 1.--21.

<sup>g</sup> "Εντευθεν, ιερον εστιν Αιμμων' φαινονται δε απασχης Λακεδαιμονιοι μαλιστα Ελληνων χρωμενοι τω εν Λιβη μηχανειω" (Pausanias. Lib. 3. C. 18.--253.) The courteous Deity seems to have felt the obligation, and to have patronised the Lacedæmonians in return. "Φησιν αν βελεσθαι αυτω την Λακεδαιμονιαν ευφημιαν ειναι μαλλον, η τα συμπαντα των Ελληνων ιερα." Plato Alcibiad. 2.--135.

<sup>h</sup> "Ου πορρω δε εστι να' Αιμμωνος' κ' το αγχλιμα ανεθηκε μεν Πινδαρος, Καλαμιδος δε εσι εργον' απε-  
τεμψε δε ο Πινδαρος κ' Λιβυκς εω' Αιμμωνιες τω Αιμμωνι υμνος' ουτος κ' es εμε ην ο υμνος εν τριγωνι σπηι παρ' α-  
των βωμον, εν Πτολεμκιος ο λαγυ τω Αιμμωνι ανεθηκε." Pausanias. Lib. 9. C. 16.--741.

prehenfions of a war, or a new colony was to be eftablifhed, one of the three fhrintes was confulted, and its anfwer governed their future refolutions.<sup>i</sup> The credit of Jupiter Ammon, who delivered his refponfes under the figure of a ram,<sup>k</sup> continued to hold its empire over the mind, and declined only on the introduction of the Roman government, under which more religious veneration was beftowed on the Sibylline verfes and Etrufcan divinations.<sup>l</sup> Yet the temple of this Deity fubfifted with fome reputation, as low as the fifth age, as may be gathered from Synefius<sup>m</sup> the bi-fhop of Ptolemais a writer of that time.

From the credit of the Oracle and its antiquity, there can be little doubt that the country, where its refponfes were delivered, was frequented by crowds of vifitants. Strabo,<sup>n</sup> to avoid a con-

S tradiction,

<sup>i</sup> “Quam vero Græcia coloniam mifit in Æoliam, Ioniam, Afiam, Siciliam, Italiam, fine Pythio aut Dodonæo, aut Hammonis Oraculo? aut quod bellum fufceptum ab eâ fine confilio Deorum eft.” M. T. Cicero de Divinatione. Lib. 1. Tom. 3. 4. 4<sup>to</sup> 1740.

<sup>k</sup> “Λιβύης πρῶτον, ὃ καλεσιν Ἀμμων, Θεὸν ἐχέσι.” (Athanafius adverf. Gentes. 20. Ed. Comelin.) and the Scholiaft on Pindar hath preferved a verfe of Phæftus.

“Ζεὺς Λιβύης Ἀμμων κερκτεφόρε κελκλι μαντι.”

Pyth. 4.

<sup>l</sup> “Πολλά δὲ εἰρηκοτες περὶ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος, τοσούτων εἰπεῖν βουλομένη· ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μάλλον ἢ ἐν τῇ, καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ καθόλου, καὶ τὰ χρηστηρία· νυνὶ δὲ οὐλιγωρεῖα κατεχεῖ πολλή, τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνεκούμενων τοῖς Σιβυλλικῇ χρησμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς Τυρρηνικοῖς θεωπρεσποῖς, διὰ τὴν σπλάγχων, καὶ ὀρνιθίας, καὶ διόστημειν· Διοπαρὲς καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀμμωνί σχεδὸν τι ἐκλείπεται χρηστέρων, πρῶτον δὲ εἰρημνῶν.” Strabo. Lib. 17.--1168.

<sup>m</sup> De Infomniis. 116.

<sup>n</sup> “Ταχὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος ἱερὸν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς θαλατῆς οὐκ ἐκρυσσεῖς ἱερόμενης νυνὶ ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὰ καὶ σθαι ἀλλὰ ζεῖν τε, καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον εὐλόγως ἐπὶ τοσούτων γενεσθαι ἐπιφανές τε, καὶ γνωρίμων ἐπὶ θαλατῇ οὐκ τὸν τε ἐπιπρῶ-

tradition, and get rid of the inconsistency which appeared between its ancient celebrity and its difficult access, adopts the opinion of Eratosthenes, who assures us, on some feeble conjectures, that the temple once stood on the shore, from which the sea had gradually retired. But this able geographer would not have considered the approach to the temple as impracticable, if he had attended to Herodotus,<sup>o</sup> and the route that he hath traced across Africa, which was in all probability travelled by the Greeks during the reign of Psammaticus, when they had the liberty of carrying on their commerce and settling in Ægypt.

There was a tradition, that one part of the army of Cambyfes had perished<sup>p</sup> in this country, but from this route it may be concluded

λυ ἔτῳς εκτοπισμον απο της θαλαττης, εκ ευλογον ποιειν την νυν ἔσαν επιφανειαν κῆ δοξαν.” Strabo. Lib. 1.--86, 87.

<sup>o</sup> Herodotus. Lib. 4.--361, 362. Mons<sup>r</sup> Bougainville hath illustrated with much ingenuity this route, and hath left nothing to be added on the subject. Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Tom. 28.--302.

<sup>p</sup> Herodotus gives the melancholy history of the loss of this detachment between Oases and Ammon. “Λεγεται δε ταδε ὑπ’ Αιμλωνων” επειδη εκ της Οασιος ταυτης ιεναι δια της ψαμμων επι σφρας, γενεσθαι τε αυτους μεταξυ κη μαλιστα αυτων τε και της Οασιως αριζαν αιρεομενοισι αυτοισι επιπνευσαι νοτον μεγαλν τε και εξαισιον, φορεοντα δε θινας της ψαμμων, καταχωσαι σφρας κῆ τροπω τοιωτω αφανεσθαι.” (Herodotus. Lib. 3.--208.) and I cannot allow the Baron de St. Croix’s evidence to be decisive, though he peremptorily styles the account a falsity. Seneca appears to have believed the accident, “Aliquando Cambyfes ad Ammoniam misit exercitum: quem arena Austro mota, et more nivis incidens, texit, deinde obruit,” (Quest. Nat. 2. 30. Seneca. Opera. Tom. 2. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1672.) and the sublime and terrible description that a modern traveller hath given of these moving mountains, which he witnessed on his return from Abyssinia, leaves little doubt of the frequency of similar disasters. Mons<sup>r</sup> Savary is of opinion that the Persians were purposely led astray and left by their Ægyptian guides to perish in the deserts,



cluded to be a falsity. Alexander took the road to Parætonium, which though less frequented, was not less passable, and the ambassadors from Cyrene met him there.<sup>1</sup> The Prince according to Aristobulus returned with his army by the same route, but if the troops had been in such danger of perishing in their march to

S 2

Ammon,

deserts, and he supports Herodotus with some strong probabilities.—Thompson hath beautifully described the accumulated horrors of these horrid regions.

“Commission’d Demons oft’, Angels of wrath,  
Let loose the raging elements. Breath’d hot  
From all the boundless furnace of the sky,  
And the wide-glittering waste of burning sand,  
A suffocating wind the pilgrim smites  
With instant death. Patient of thirst and toil,  
Son of the desert! ev’n the camel feels  
Shot thro’ his wither’d heart, the fiery blast.  
Or from the black-red ether, bursting broad,  
Sallies the sudden whirlwind. Straight the sands,  
Commov’d around, in gath’ring eddies play;  
Nearer and nearer still they dark’ning come;  
Till, with the gen’ral all-involving storm  
Swept up, the whole continuous wilds arise;  
And by their noon-day fount dejected thrown,  
Or sunk at night in sad disastrous sleep,  
Beneath descending hills, the caravan  
Is buried deep. In Cairo’s crowded streets  
Th’ impatient merchant, wondering, waits in vain,  
And Mecca saddens at the long delay.”

Thompson’s Seasons. Summer. 960---979.

<sup>1</sup> “Κατὰ μέσσην δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπηντήσαν αὐτῷ πρεσβεις παρὰ Κυρηναίων, σέφανον κομιζόντες, καὶ μεγάλῳ-  
πρεπὴ ὁδῶν.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17.--197.) Q. Curtius briefly tells us, “Descendit ad Ma-  
reotim paludem. Eo legati Cyrenensium dona adtulere; pacem et ut adiret urbes suas petentes.”  
Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209.

Ammon, it is not to be imagined, that a general of Alexander's abilities would have exposed them a second time, without any necessity, to the same perils of being buried in the sands, or expiring by a more lingering death, from hunger<sup>r</sup> and thirst.

Ammon, in the bosom of Lybia, notwithstanding its distance from the borders of the sea, was resorted to by most of the European nations, and supplied them with several objects for exportation.<sup>s</sup> It had been peopled by a colony of Æthiopians and Ægyptians, as the language spoken by the Ammonites in the time of Herodotus, which was a mixture of the language of both these people, sufficiently demonstrates.<sup>t</sup> Is it likely, that men whose intention in their migrations was as much to procure the conveniences of life, as to enjoy its necessaries, should have voluntarily established

<sup>r</sup> “Ἐνταυθα Ἀλεξανδρῶς ——— ἀνεξέειξεν ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτου· ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβουλὸς λέγει, τὴν αὐτὴν ὁπίσω ὄδον” but Arrian adds, “Ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγὺς, ἀλλήν ἐυθείαν, ὡς ἐπὶ Μεμφιν,” (De Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.--187.) which appears most likely, from the difficulties and dangers experienced in their route to Ammon.

<sup>s</sup> This commerce is supposed to have consisted of salt, gum and dates. Arrian mentions the first, and from this account, there must have been a considerable demand for it. “Γίγονται δὲ καὶ ἅλεις αυτομακτοὶ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷ τῷ ὀρυκτοῖ· καὶ τῶν ἐστὶν ὅς ἐς Αἰγυπτὸν φέρεσι τῶν ἱερῶν τινες τῆς Ἀμμωνίως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτῇ σέλλονται, ἐς κοιτίδας πλεκτάς ἐκ φοινίκων ἐσβαλόντες, δῶρον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποφέρουσιν, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ ——— καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρεῖνται, ὡς καθάρωτες τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄλων Αἰγυπτίῳ τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τε θεῶν ἐκ ἀμείλως ἐχρῶνται.” (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.--187.) The Baron de St. Croix remarks likewise from Jablonki, (Panth. Ægypt. Tom. 3.--82.) that the Ægyptians owing to some religious scruples had a horror of sea-salt, which must have increased the consumption of the rock-salt of Ammon.

<sup>t</sup> “Ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμωνιοί, ἱόντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀσισίων ἀποικοί, καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες.” Herodotus. Lib. 1.--123, 124.

established themselves in a situation, which could only have been fit for the lion and the tiger, if the difficulties of getting to it had been as insurmountable as they have been represented? Is it also probable that a colony should have planted itself by choice in a country so totally deprived of water, as the historians of Alexander have described it.<sup>w</sup>

We are told, as a fact universally acknowledged, by Synesius,<sup>x</sup> a native of Cyrene, whose authority hath naturally a claim to some influence, that the country of Ammon was remarkable for its fertility, and the abundance of provisions, that it afforded to the inhabitants and their cattle, which cannot possibly agree with the pretended barrenness of the soil. Diodorus Siculus admits it likewise to have been fruitful,<sup>y</sup> and Strabo compares a tract of country well watered

<sup>w</sup> The Baron de St. Croix adds "Arrien refute cette opinion absurd." I have omitted this sentence, and varied the preceding one, because I draw a very different conclusion from Arrian's expressions. "Εξί δε ερημη τε ή οδος, ή ψαμμύη ή πολλή αυτής, ή ανυδρς.—ό δε χωρος ίναπερ τε Αμμωνί το ίερον εστι, τα μεν κυκλω παντα ερημα, ή ψαμμύη το παν εχει, ή ανυδρς." Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 3, 4.--185, 186.

<sup>x</sup> "Τον Αμμωνα ή Αμμωνί γην ε μαλλον ειναι μηλοτροφορον, η κρηστοροφον αγαθην." Synesii Epist. 4.--43.

<sup>y</sup> I am apprehensive a more extensive signification hath been forced on Diodorus Siculus, than the passage of this author warrants, who speaks only of the fertility in the immediate vicinage of the temple, and confines it within the narrow bounds of fifty stadia. "Η δε περι το ίερον τετο χωρα περιεχεται ίπο ερημη ή ανυδρς της αμμης, πασης φιλανθρωπιας ερεσημενη· αυτή δ' επι μηκί ή πλατί επι σταδις πεντηκοντα παρηκεσα, πολλοις μεν ή καλοις υδασι ναματιαιοις διαρρενται, δειδραν δε παντοδαπων ή μαλιστα κερσιμων πληθει· ή τον μεν αερα τη κρασει παραπλησιον εχει ταις ερημικις υδραις, τοποις δε καυματωδεσι περιεχομενη, μονη παρηλλαγματινη παρεχεται τοις ενδιατειβεσι την εκκρασιαν."

tered and beautified with palms, at the distance of four days' journey from the Syrtes, to the country of Ammon.<sup>2</sup>

The sands which the Macedonian army traversed, according to Q. Curtius, were heated in such a manner as to scorch<sup>a</sup> the feet, and

ευκρεσιαν” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--198.) Arrian confirms the reality of this local fertility, but he allows it to extend only to forty stadia. “Αὐτῷ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὀλίγων (ὅσον γὰρ πλεῖστον αὐτὲς ἐς πλάτῃ διεχέει, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων ἐρχεται) καταπλεῖς ἐστὶν ἡμέρων δένδρων, ἐλαίων, καὶ φοινίκων, καὶ ἐνδρῶσθι μόνῃ τῶν πηριξί. Καὶ πῆγῃ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνίσχεται” (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.--186.) Q. Curtius is a little more luxuriant. “Tandem ad fedem consecratam Deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita, undique ambientibus ramis, vix in densam umbram cadente sole contacta est: multique fontes dulcibus aquis passim manantibus alunt filvas. Cæli quoque mira temperies, verno tempori maxime similis, omnes anni partes pari salubritate percurrit.” (Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--210. 211.) Le Clerc hath dissected with critical acrimony this description of a temperate climate under a blazing sun, but Perizonius (Curt. Vind. 144.) defends both Diodorus Siculus and Q. Curtius, with great judgment and ability. Lucan infers the divinity of the place from its surrounding scenery.

“Effe locis superos, testatur filva per omnem  
Sola virens Libyen. Nam quidquid pulvere sicco  
Separat ardentem tepida Berenicide Lepti,  
Ignorat fontes; solus nemus abstulit Hammon  
Silvarum fons causa loco.”

Lib. 9.--522.

By a strange revolution of events the neighbourhood of the temple of Jupiter Ammon became the residence of several Christian prelates, during the Arian persecution. Athanasius mentions it. Apol. ad Const. 317. Hist. Arrian. 387.

<sup>2</sup> “Τετραταῖς μὲν οὖν φασὶν ἀπὸ τῆς μυχῆς τῆς μεγάλης Συρτῶν τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸ μαλακῶς βαδίζοντας, ὥς ἐπὶ χειμερινῶς ἀνατολῆς ἀφικνεῖσθαι. Ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτῃ ἐμφερὲς τῷ Ἀμμωνί, φοινικοτρόφῳ, τε καὶ ἐνδρῳ.” Strabo. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--1196.

<sup>a</sup> “Terra cæloque aquarum penuria est: steriles arenæ jacent; quas ubi vapor solis accendit, fervido solo exurente vestigia, intolerabilis æstus exsistit. Luclandumque est, non tantum cum ardore et siccitate regionis, sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo, quod præaltum, et vestigio cedens,  
ægre

and as they gave way as the troops passed over them, the march became uncommonly painful and fatiguing. To augment their sufferings, neither the Heavens nor the Earth supplied them with any <sup>b</sup> water. In a few lines afterwards we are told of a tremendous storm, <sup>c</sup> attended with very heavy rain, by which the army was greatly refreshed; but the story that had just been related to us, does not seem to be authenticated by such an anecdote. It may be asked how Alexander could penetrate into this vast solitude, and direct his march through such a pathless desert. Q. Curtius hath given him a flight of crows <sup>d</sup> for guides, and Callisthenes, <sup>e</sup> to make the circumstance more extraordinary, informs us  
the

*ægre moliantur pedes.* (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--208.) I find no authority for the "ils ebouloient sous les pas des voyageurs et menaçoient à chaque instant de les engloutir," and I omit it.

<sup>b</sup> "Repente, sive illud Deorum munus, sive casus fuit; obductæ cælo nubes condidere solem: ingens æstu fatigatis, etiamsi aqua deficeret, auxilium. Enimvero, ut largum quoque imbrem excusserunt procellæ; pro se quisque excipere eum, quidam ob sitim impotentes fui, ore quoque hianti captare cæperunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209, 210.

<sup>c</sup> "Quatriduum per vastas solitudines absumptum est. Jamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant; quum complures corvi agmini occurrunt, modico volatu prima signa antecedentes: et modo humi residebant, quum lentius agmen incederet; modo se pennis levabant, antecedentium iterque monstrantium ritu." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--210.

<sup>d</sup> "Aperuere se campi alto obruti fabulo; haud secus quam profundum æquor ingressi, terram oculis requirebant. Nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209.

<sup>e</sup> "Ὁ δὲ ἐν θαυμασιωτάτῳ (ὡς Καλλισθένης φησὶν) ταῖς φωναῖς ἀνακαλεμένοι τῆς πλανομένης νυκτὸς καὶ κλαζόντες, εἰς ἵχθους καθίσασαν τῆς παρείας." (Plutarch de Vit. Alex. Plut. Oper. Tom. 1. 680.) The flight of crows is reduced by many of the historians to a pair, and by Ptolemy these two  
black



the stragglers from the main body of the army were recalled into the road by their croaking.

Darius in the mean time was not inactive, but again collected an immense number of men, from every corner of his extensive empire, to oppose the farther progress of his formidable enemy, who advanced rapidly, on quitting Ægypt, towards the Euphrates, which he crossed at Tapfacus. Pliny<sup>f</sup> and Dion Cassius have entertained a different opinion, and imagine Alexander to have crossed the river near Zeugma on a bridge, suspended by chains of iron.<sup>g</sup> These writers were however undoubtedly led into an error by the etymology

black Guides metamorphosed into Dragons. Arrian naturally appears to have his doubts, but his understanding and his inclinations are at variance. “Πτολεμαῖος μὲν δὴ ὁ Λαγού λεγεί δράκοντας δύο ἰεναι πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, φωνή ἰέντας, καὶ ταῖσις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κελευσθαι ἔπεσθαι τὰς ἡγεμονίας, πιστευσαντάς τῳ Θεῷ· τὰς δὲ ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν τε εἰς τὸ μαντιῶν, καὶ ὁπίσω αὐτίς· Λεῖσοβελῶ δὲ (καὶ ὁ Πλείων λογῶ ταυτὴ κατεχέει) κοράκας δύο προσπειρωμένους τῆς στρατίας, ταύτας γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς ἡγεμονίας· Καὶ ὅτι μὲν δεῖον τι ξυμπελαβεῖν αὐτῷ, εἰσὶν ἰσχυριστάσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἰκῶ ταυτὴ εἶχε· τοῦδε ἀτρεκέως τὸ λογεῖσθαι ἀφελόντο οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλῃ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγησάμενοι.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 3.--185, 186.

<sup>f</sup> “Et exstare ferream catenam apud Euphratem amnem in urbe quæ Zeugma appellatur, qua Alexander magnus ibi junxerat pontem. (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 34. C. 43. Tom. 5.--150, 151.). “Κατὰ τὸ Ζευγίμα οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατίας τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ταυτὴ ἐπερξιώθη, κενύληται.” (Dion. Cassius. Lib. 40. Tom. 1.--235.) Lucan hath a similar idea,

————— “Nunc Parthia ruptis  
Excedat claustris vetitam per secula ripam  
Zeugmaque Pellæum.”

Lib. 8.--235.

<sup>g</sup> And of this opinion is Strabo. “Θαύμα, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Ζευγίμα τῆς Εὐφράτης τοῦ παλαιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Τιγριδῶ διαβάσιν, καὶ ὅτι διέβη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αὐτόν.” (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1082.) It is probable that the younger Cyrus crossed the Euphrates in nearly the same place. Xenoph. Expeditio Cyri. Lib. 1.--72.

etymology of the word, but the itinerary of the Macedonian army, from Tyre to Arbela, proves decidedly the imposition.

Mazæus had been ordered by Darius to defend the passage of the Euphrates, but he abandoned the post and retreated, having first laid waste the country to deprive the Macedonian army of forage and subsistence. Four days after Alexander had passed the Euphrates and the Tigris without any opposition, he discovered a body of cavalry, which was immediately pursued. Many prisoners were taken, and they gave him the intelligence, that Darius was encamped on a wide plain upon the banks of the Bumado, not far from Gaugamele. The troops had a few days allowed them to recover their fatigues, and the Macedonian Monarch then moved forward again, and took post at the distance only of sixty stadia from the Persian camp. Arrian furnishes us with these particulars,<sup>h</sup> which are very necessary to correct the inaccuracy of Diodorus Siculus.

This latter historian relates that Mazæus was detached to defend the river,<sup>i</sup> without specifying what river it was, that he was ordered to secure. It must, however, have been the Euphrates, though it is not named. The Macedonian army passed the anonymous river, and Alexander stretched on the following day

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<sup>h</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7, 8, 9.--193—199.

<sup>i</sup> “Την διαβασιν τε ποταμῆς” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--203.

directly towards the enemy, and encamped in their presence. The remainder of the narrative seems to intimate, that the two armies came to blows two days after the passage of the Euphrates.<sup>k</sup>——Diodorus Siculus may have mistaken the Euphrates for the Tigris, and his errors in consequence of this conjecture will become less palpable and of less importance, but their number will not be diminished.

¶ The imagination is ever on the watch to escape from the fetters of historical restriction, and, regardless of contradictions and their consequences, is apt to wander through the flowery fields of fancy, as the inclination leads it. Q. Curtius proves the propriety of the observation in his account of the battle of Gaugamele. On the plain, as he tells us, where the two armies encountered, neither bush nor tree was to be seen, and the view was as boundless as the horizon.<sup>l</sup> Such a description does not correspond with Alexander's orders to level every obstacle, that interrupted the motions of his troops,<sup>m</sup> and the position which a detachment occupied a little

<sup>k</sup> “Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συντεταγμένην ἔχων τὴν στρατίαν, προσηγεν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ συνεγγὺς γενομένη τῶν Περσῶν, κατεστρατοπεδευσεν.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--203.

<sup>l</sup> “Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planities. Ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiant solum: liberque prospectus oculorum etiam quæ procul recessere, permittitur.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--233.

<sup>m</sup> “Itaque si qua campi eminebant, jussit æquari, totumque fastigium extendi.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--233, 234.

little before the action upon a height, that the Persians had abandoned.<sup>a</sup>

Most of the historians reckon the Persian army to have amounted to a million of men, and though the calculation may appear extravagant, it certainly does not exceed the bounds of probability. All the nations in fact from the Euxine sea to the extremities of the East had made a common cause, and sent Darius very numerous and powerful reinforcements. It was the custom of the Asiatics to carry their wives and children along with them in their military expeditions, and Persian luxury could not dispense with the want of a crowd of the useless followers of a camp; two circumstances which will considerably diminish the number of the real and effective troops. If we consider likewise the living clouds of Barbarians, that have spread themselves in different ages over the Western world, and those immense bodies of more regular troops, that under the conduct of many Tartarian princes, possessed themselves of almost all the realms of Asia, we may easily conceive that such a multitude might have been collected to combat on the plains of Assyria for the safety of the Persian empire.

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<sup>a</sup> "Mazæus———cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra, confederat. Macedones eam ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt: nam et tutior planitie erat." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 12. Tom. 1.--263.) But the woods and valleys which echoed with the shouts of the armies are still more inconsistent and absurd.—"Macedones, ingentem, pugnantium more, edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis, nemora vallesque circumjectas terribili sono implevere." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 12. Tom. 1.--264.

The Scythians and Bactrians distinguished themselves by their valour on this memorable day, and rushed with impetuosity on the left wing of the Macedonian army, on which they made some impression. A detachment also of the Persians made its way to the baggage of their enemy, who lost, notwithstanding these vigorous attacks less than three hundred men according to Q. Curtius,<sup>o</sup> and five hundred agreeable to Diodorus Siculus,<sup>p</sup> exclusive of the wounded. One hundred men and a thousand horse are supposed by Arrian<sup>q</sup> to have been left on the field of battle, or to have fallen in the pursuit. The loss of the Persian army amounted by his account to three hundred thousand men,<sup>r</sup> but it seems exaggerated. Dexippus<sup>s</sup> lowers it to one hundred and thirty thousand, and Diodorus Siculus<sup>t</sup> to nearly ninety thousand. Zozimus<sup>w</sup> hath boldly asserted that almost the whole of the Persian

<sup>o</sup> "Macedonum minus quam trecenti desiderati sunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--297.

<sup>p</sup> "Τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἀνιρθεῖσαν μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους, τραυματῖαι δ' ἐγένοντο πᾶμπληθεῖς." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--207.

<sup>q</sup> "Ἀπεθάνον δὲ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλεξάνδρον, ἀνδρες μὲν ἐς ἑκατὸν μαλιστα' ἵπποι δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν τραυματῶν καὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας τῆς ἐν τῇ διώξει, ὥπερ τοὺς χίλιους." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--214.

<sup>r</sup> "Τῶν βαρβαρῶν δὲ, νεκρῶν μὲν ἐλέγοντο ἐς τριακόντα μυριάδας" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 16.--215.) Arrian however qualifies it with the "ἐλέγοντο."

<sup>s</sup> Apud. Cedrenum. 125.

<sup>t</sup> "Τῶν βαρβαρῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ κατεκύπησαν οἱ πάντες ἰσχυροὶ καὶ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἐννεα μυριάδων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--207.

<sup>w</sup> "Καὶ τὴν μάχην εἰς Ἀρβηλὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν (Δαρείον) ποιήσαντες, τοσούτον ἐκρατήσεν, ὥστε πάντας μὲν σχεδὸν ἀνελεῖν, Δαρεῖον δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις φυγόντα." Zozimus, Lib. 1. C. 4.--9. 8<sup>vo</sup> Lips. 1784..



fian troops was destroyed, but Q. Curtius appears to have adopted the most probable calculation, and states their loss at forty thousand.\* It is indeed the only circumstance in his relation of this action, that we can literally subscribe to; in every other, the qualifications of the historian are totally wanting, and we have the descriptions of a poet, or the declamations of an orator.

The following sentences convey to us some parts of the speech of Darius to his troops immediately before the engagement. "Dare" to conquer and the work is done. Renown and fame are but weak arms against brave men, therefore do not regard them in the enemy. For it is rashness you have hitherto feared, and mistaken for courage; which when its first fury is spent, becomes languid and dull, like those animals that have lost their stings.—As for Alexander, how great soever he may appear to the cowardly and fearful, he is still but one individual creature; and, in  
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\* "Cecidere Persarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, millia quadringenta."  
Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--297.

† "Audete modo vincere; famamque, infirmissimum adversus fortes viros telum, contemnite? Temeritas est, quam adhuc pro virtute timuistis: quæ ubi primum impetum effudet, velut quædam animalia amisso aculeo, torpet.——Alexander, quantuscunque ignavis et timidus videri potest; unum est animal: et, si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vecors; adhuc nostro pavore, quam sua virtute felicius! nihil autem potest esse diuturnum, cui non subest ratio, licet felicitas adspirare videatur; tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit. Præterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum, et fortuna nunquam simpliciter indulget——nisi quod in vobis est, ipse ego majore parte captivus sum. Eripite viscera mea ex vinculis: restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipse mori non recuso; parentem, liberos, nam conjugem in illo carcere amisi." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 14.--280, 282, 284.

my opinion, both rash and foolish. Now nothing can be lasting that is not supported by reason, and though he seems to be successful, yet at long run he'll pay for his temerity. Besides, the turns and revolutions of things are of short duration, there is no such thing as an unmixed felicity.—I myself am more than half a captive, unless you exert yourselves: free my bowels from their bondage, restore to me those dear pledges, (for which I am willing myself to die) my mother and children, for I have lost my wife in that prison.”<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible perhaps to transfuse into any language the warm picturesque expressions of Q. Curtius, but whilst they display the brilliancy of his imagination, they condemn effectually his judgment. This harangue of the Persian Monarch is utterly inconsistent with the character of Darius, and he seems rather to be declaiming in a school of rhetoric, than to address his troops with the dignity of a Monarch and in a manner that his peculiar situation ought to have prescribed to him. The narrative of Q. Curtius is also full of ill-timed reflections, and his ignorance of military affairs is attempted to be concealed in impenetrable obscurity, and a labyrinth of words, that are accumulated without reason or necessity. These fastidious amplifications have sometimes rendered his descriptions almost incomprehensible, and the manner in which he speaks of the chariots armed with scythes is particularly confused.

<sup>2</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius, Vol. 1.--255, 256, 257.

fused.<sup>a</sup> Arrian<sup>b</sup> in every respect is entitled to a preference, and his account of the battle of Gaugamele, is the only source, from which we can derive any certain information of the manœuvres of either the Persian or Macedonian army.

The eclipse of the moon at the commencement of the Mysteries, on the fifteenth day of the month Boedromion, happened according to Plutarch,<sup>c</sup> twelve days before this celebrated battle, which is therefore irrevocably settled to have been fought on the twenty-seventh day of the month Boedromion, in the second year of the 112<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and 331 years before Christ. Arrian's computation then, who fixes this action in the month Puanepсион, on,

<sup>a</sup> "Ex fummo temone hastæ præfixæ ferro eminebant: utrimque a jugo ternos direxerant gladios: et inter radios rotarum plura spicula eminebant in adversum: aliæ deinde falces fummis rotarum orbibus hærebant; et aliæ in terram dimissæ quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuisset amputaturæ." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--228, 229.) After all the labours of the commentators this passage still retains its original perplexity. Drakenborch in his edition of Q. Curtius hath abridged most of their observations, and Scheffer (De Re Vehiculari. Lib. 2. C. 15.) hath launched into the subject at length.

<sup>b</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 12, 13, 14, 15.--205—215.

<sup>c</sup> "Τὴν δὲ μεγάλην μάχην πρὸς Δαρείον οὐκ ἐν Ἀρβήλοις (ὡς περὶ οἱ ἄλλοι γραφουσιν) ἀλλὰ ἐν Πανσαμείοις γενέσθαι συνέπεσεν"———ἡ μὲν οὖν σελήνη τῇ Βοηδρομιωνος ἐξελίπειν, περὶ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρχὴν ἐνδεκάτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως νυκτὶ τὸν στρατοπέδων ἐν ὧς γεγονότων &c. &c. &c. (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Oper. Tom. 1.--683.) "Preceda de onze jours———la bataille de Gaugamele," is the Baron de St. Croix's expression, but he did not sufficiently attend to that of Plutarch, and Langhorn appears to have fallen into the same error. If Darius only ranged his troops in order of battle, and took a review of them by torch-light on the eleventh night, "Ἐνδεκάτῃ νυκτὶ" after this lunar eclipse, the action must have been fought on the succeeding day. By the Julian calendar this eclipse was supposed to have happened on the twentieth of September, and the calculation therefore of Sir Isaac Newton, who fixes the action on the second of October following is very accurate. See the Chronology of ancient Kingdoms. 355.

on,<sup>d</sup> is erroneous. Aristophanes was the Athenian Archon at that time, and both Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>e</sup> and Theophrastus<sup>f</sup> relate this event under the magistracy of Aristophon, his successor. But these two writers deceived themselves, and concluded from the news of this decisive action having reached Athens after the expiration of the Archonship of Aristophanes, that it was also fought under that of Aristophon. Justin hath mentioned the defeat of the united forces of the Persian empire in the fifth year of the reign of Alexander, but the sixth was the true period of this engagement, which was attended with the total ruin of the Persian monarchy.

The Conqueror of the East, after he had possessed himself of Babylon<sup>g</sup> and Suza, then marched for Persepolis. Q. Curti-

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<sup>d</sup> “Τοῦτο τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, ἐπὶ ἀρχόντος Ἀθηνησιν Ἀριστοφάνους, μὲν δὲ Πυανέψιδον.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--215.

<sup>e</sup> “Ἐπ’ Ἀριστοφάντι ἀρχόντος——καθ’ ὃν χρόνον Ἀλεξάνδρος τὴν ἐν Ἀβδηλοῖς ἐνίκηεν μάχην.” Dion. Halic. Epist. ad Ammæum. Tom. 6.--746.

<sup>f</sup> “Καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀριστοφάντι ποτὲ γενομένην τετάρτην μάχην.” (Theophrasti Charact. 7.--34. 8<sup>vo</sup> Cant. 1712.) Theophrastus does not here particularly specify the engagement, and I believe Caufabon is the only Editor who suggested that the sentence alludes to the battle near Gaugamele.—On this construction the Greek author must undoubtedly have mistaken the year. As the celebrated battle, however in which Agis the son of Archidamus fell at Megalopolis, and in which Greece had such an interest, was really fought under the Archonship of Aristophon. (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom.--2. 208.) It is more natural to imagine that action was intended to be referred to.

<sup>g</sup> Q. Curtius hath given the following account of the surrender of Babylon.—“Babylonem procedenti Alexandro Mazæus, qui ex acie in urbem confugerat, cum adultis liberis supplex occurrit, urbem seque dedens.” He adds, “Gratus adventus ejus fuit regi. Quippe magni operis futura



us<sup>h</sup> relates that four thousand Greeks, who had been barbarously mutilated in addition to the misfortune of captivity, here threw themselves in Alexander's way. This melancholy spectacle affected him exceedingly; and melting with compassion at the recital of their sufferings, he offered them the choice of a residence in the country which they then inhabited, or a return into Greece. —A quiet and undisturbed asylum, where they might wear out the remainder of their days, was all that in their situation could be wished; and they preferred a settlement at a distance, by which their fellow-citizens and friends might at least be spared the shock of seeing their deplorable condition. Q. Curtius, as usual, does not fail to furnish us with a speech<sup>i</sup> to these unfortunate captives, whose number as appears from Diodorus Siculus<sup>k</sup> and Justin,<sup>l</sup> did not exceed eight hundred. Arrian hath not mentioned them, and from his silence we may still doubt of this wanton excess of cruelty.

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futura erat obsidio tam munitæ urbis." (Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--307.) But if we are to believe Herodotus, Darius had dismantled the city and ruined its fortifications after its revolt. "Βαβυλων νυν μεν οὕτω τοδεύτερον αἰρεθῇ· Δαρείδης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἐκράτησε τῶν βαβυλωνίων, τὸτο μεν, σφραγὼν τὸ τεῖχος περιείλε, καὶ τὰς πυλάς πᾶσας ἀπέσπασε." Herodotus. Lib. 3.--278.

<sup>h</sup> "Miserabile agmen, inter pauca Fortunæ exempla memorandum, regi occurrit. Captivi erant Græci ad quatuor millia fere, quos Persæ vario suppliciorum modo adfecerant, alios pedibus, quosdam manibus auribusque amputatis, inustisque barbararum literarum notis." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--342.

<sup>i</sup> Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--344.

<sup>k</sup> "Ἀπηντησαν γὰρ αὐτῷ μεθ' ἱκετησίων Ἕλληνες ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων Βασιλέων ἀνέστατοι γεγονότες, οὐτακοῖσι μὲν σχεδὸν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, ταῖς δ' ἡλικίας οἱ πλείστοι μὲν γεγησχαότες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι δὲ πάντες· οἱ μὲν χεῖρας, οἱ δὲ πόδας, οἱ δὲ ὠτὰ καὶ ῥινάς." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--213.

<sup>l</sup> "Ostingenti admodum Græci occurrunt Alexandro, qui pœnam captivitatis truncatâ corporis parte tulerunt." Justin. Lib. 11. C. 14.--295.



The Macedonian army passed the Caspian defiles, and followed Darius in his retreat with astonishing celerity. Soon afterwards they received intelligence, that Bessus and his accomplices, after loading Darius with chains, had added assassination to their crimes, and put their unfortunate Monarch to death. The historians of Alexander, and particularly Q. Curtius, have taken no little pains to heighten the death of Darius with every interesting and pathetic circumstance.—In his last moments he is represented addressing his prayers to Heaven for the prosperity of his victorious enemy, and discovers a grandeur of soul, that may not possibly have been his own.—They finish the affecting portrait by painting his amiable and humane qualities, and a strong and striking contrast arises between his misfortunes and his virtues. But the Eastern traditions have handed down to us the character of this last King of the Kaianides in darker shades, and the cruelty of his temper in conjunction with his tyranny, is recorded to have drawn down upon him the general indignation of his subjects, and led him to his ruin.<sup>m</sup>

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<sup>m</sup> Herbelot Bibl. Oriental. Dara. Dr. Gillies in his valuable History of Greece, observes, if "the fashionable scepticism of the times should hesitate, the reader has only to ask what Oriental historian has related the transactions of Darius with the fulness and accuracy so conspicuous in Arrian?"—The several authors who have transmitted to us an account of the cruelty of the Persian Monarch may be seen in Herbelot: I do not vouch for their authority, but in the aggregate, notwithstanding they vary in a few circumstances, they may have some weight. Q. Curtius hath left a memorable instance of his barbarity upon record. "Nam etiam saucii quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant persequi, excepti erant. Quos omnes, instinctu Purpuratorum, barbarâ feritate sævientium, præcis adustisque manibus circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent; satique omnibus spectatis, nuntiare quæ vidissent regi suo, jussit." (Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1.--108.)

The Persian Monarch closed his unhappy reign in the month Hecatombæon, when Aristophon was Archon at Athens, as Arrian<sup>n</sup> tells us, in the third year of the 112<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, nine months after the fatal battle of Gaugamele, according to Usher,<sup>o</sup> instead of a year and some months, as Sir Isaac Newton hath conjectured.<sup>p</sup>

The Greeks in the Persian pay, continued to serve Darius with unshaken fidelity and fortitude to the last moment of his life. At the death of this Prince they amounted to fifteen hundred, and followed the standard of Artabases, but he was soon obliged to

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accept

1.--108.) and where he mentions the original mildness and tractability of the Persian Monarch's disposition, it seems, in the latter part of life, these virtues had disappeared, "Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi suam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumpere. Itaque, veritatis impatiens, hospitem ac supplicem, tunc maxime utilia suadentem, abstrahi iussit ad capitale supplicium." (Lib. 3. C. 3. Tom. 1.--69, 70.)—Arrian mentions the massacre of the sick and wounded Macedonians at Issus, by Darius, in severe terms, "Χαλεπῶς αἰκισαμένους ἀπεκτείνεν" (Lib. 2. C. 7.--120.) and though he hath afterwards defended his character, it is in a manner perhaps that shews it was liable to objection. "Εἰς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἀνεπίεικας ἔργον ἀποδείχμεν, ἢ οὐδὲ ἐγγενομένον αὐτῷ ἀποδείξασθαι· ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθεῖν, ὁμοῦ δὲ προσπολεμειῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμβῆναι οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἐθέλοντι ἐξῆν ἐτι ὑβρίζειν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἢ περ ἐκείνοι καθέστησάν τε" (Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 22.--233.) The "Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἐθέλοντι ἐξῆν ἐτι ὑβρίζειν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους," is no very flattering compliment to his memory. When there is no power of being vicious, virtue becomes equivocal, and ceases almost to deserve the name.

<sup>n</sup> "Τέτο το τέλος Δαρεῖω εἴνετο, ἐπὶ ἀρχόντῳ Ἀθηναίῳ Ἀγιστοφάντῳ, μηνὶ Ἑκατομβαιῶν." Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 22.--233.

<sup>o</sup> See Usherii Annales. 324, 325. Folio. 1650.

<sup>p</sup> Chronology of ancient kingdoms. 355.

accept of the terms which the Macedonian Monarch offered him, and the Greeks were persuaded to surrender. Diodorus Siculus<sup>1</sup> and Q. Curtius<sup>2</sup> inform us, with some trifling variations, that they were distributed in the different divisions of the Macedonian army, but Arrian<sup>3</sup> asserts they formed a separate and detached corps under the command of Andronicus, who had prevailed on them to rely on Alexander's clemency, and to offer him their future services.

This little intrepid band of Warriors survived the ruin of the  
Persian

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus seems to intimate that this Grecian corps, hearing of the favourable reception that many of the officers of Darius had met with, made a voluntary offer of its services to Alexander. "Πολλοὶ τῶν συμπεφυγोटῶν ἡγεμόνων τῷ Δαρείῳ παρεδωκαν αὐτὸς· οἷς ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχθεὶς, μεγάλην δόξαν ἐπιεικείας ἀπηνεγκάτο· εὐδὺς γὰρ οἱ Δαρείῳ συστρατευμένοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐτὲς περὶ χιλίης καὶ πεντακοσίων, ἀνδρεία τε διαφερόντες, παρεδσαν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ συνήντης ἀξιώζοντες, κατετάχθησαν εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς μισθοφοραῖς." Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--219.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Curtius hath preserved this generous but ineffectual effort for the safety of the Spartans who had joined them. "Græcos, quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari jubet : at illi, nisi Lacedæmoniis fides daretur, respondent, se quid agendum ipsis foret, deliberaturos. Legatierant Lacedæmoniorum missi ad Darium, quo victo adplicaverunt se Græcis mercede apud Persas militantibus. Rex omisissis sponsonum fideique pignoribus, venire eos jussit, fortunam quam ipse dedisset habituros. Diu cunctantes, plerisque consiliis variantibus, tandem venturos se pollicentur. At Democrates Athenienfis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus semper obfiterat, veniâ desperatâ, gladio se transfugit. Ceteri, sicut constituerant, ditioni Alexandri se ipsos permittunt. Mille et quingenti milites erant. Præter hos legati ad Darium missi nonaginta. In supplementum distributus miles : ceteri remissi domum, præter Lacedæmonios, quos tradi in custodiam jussit. (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--416, 417.) The negotiation may be seen in Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 23, 24.--239.) who hath ably vindicated the Macedonian Monarch.

<sup>3</sup> "Τὴς δὲ ἀλλῆς συστρατευομένοι οἱ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐπιτάξεν αὐτοῖς Ἀνδρονίκον, ὅσπερ ἡγήγε τε αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐνδηλῶ εἰδόνει καὶ φάυλον ποιημένοι σωζαὶ τὴς ἀνδρείας." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 24.--239.

Persian Empire, after having defended it with uncommon bravery, at the battles of the Granicus, of Issus, and of Gaugamele. Their companions had either all fallen under the Macedonian arm, or had been made prisoners. Leosthenes seems therefore to have no pretensions to be ranked by Pausanias<sup>i</sup> amongst the benefactors of his country for his embarkation, in opposition to Alexander's inclinations, of fifty thousand Greeks, who had served in the Persian armies, and his restoration of them to their country. Greece itself was hardly capable of maintaining an army of fifty thousand men, and the circumstance is not confirmed by any work of the ancients, that hath descended to us.

Alexander's conduct and the resolution, that he took in the pursuit of Bessus, prove the strength of his understanding, if any credit is due to Q. Curtius. The Macedonian army having discovered some symptoms of dissatisfaction at the Prince's future projects, which opened to them only fresh scenes of difficulty and danger, he ordered both his own baggage, and that of the whole army to be burnt.<sup>w</sup> Plutarch

<sup>i</sup> "Εἶναι δὲ ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Λεωσθένην τιθεναὶ καὶ Ἀρξάντον εὐεργέτας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ Ἑλλήνων μισθοφορικόν, καὶ ἐν Περσείῳ περὶ πέντε πῶς μυριάδας ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν καταβάντας ναυσίν, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀνεώσωσε καὶ ἀκούσας Ἀλεξάνδρου." Pausanias 706.

<sup>w</sup> "Quum grave spoliis, adparatuque luxuriæ agmen vix moveretur; suas primum, deinde totius exercitus farcinas, exceptis admodum necessariis, conferri iussit in medium. Planities spatiosa erat, in quam vehicula onusta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis, quid deinde esset imperaturus, jumenta iussit abduci; suisque primum sarcinis face subditâ, ceteras incendi præcepit. Flagrabant exurentibus dominis, quæ ut intacta ex urbibus hostium raperent, sæpe flammis restinxerant; nul-

tarch\* relates the same fact, but he gives it a later date, and refers it to the commencement of the Indian expedition; though Ptolemy and Aristobulus appear not to have taken notice of it, as may be inferred from Arrian's silence, who made great use of their memoirs.

The Macedonian Monarch extended his conquests beyond the Iaxartes, and defeated the Scythians who sent an embassy to him previous to the engagement. Q. Curtius hath transmitted to us the substance of the speech, in which the deputies addressed Alexander, but its authenticity hath been disputed. "If the gods had given you a body suitable to the insatiable greediness of your mind,

to sanguinis pretium audente deslere, quum regias opes idem ignis exureret." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--429.

\* "Μελλων δε υπεββαλλειν εις την Ινδικην, ως εωρα πολλοι λαφρευων την στρατιαν ηδη βαρειαν κ' δυσκινήτην εσαν, αμ' ημερα συνεσκευασμενων των αμαξων, πρωτας μεν υπεπερσεεν τας αυτας κ' των εταιρων μετα δε ταυτας εκελευσε κ' ταις των Μακεδονων ενειναι πυρ." Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696, 697.

γ "Si Dii habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem esse voluissent; orbis te non caperet: alterâ manu Orientem; alterâ Occidentem contingeres. Et hoc adsequutus scire velles, ubi tanti numinis fulgor conderetur. Sic quoque concupiscis, quæ non capis. Ab Europâ petis Asiam; ex Asiâ transis in Europam: deinde si humanum genus omne superaveris; cum silvis, et nivibus, et fluminibus, ferisque bestiis gesturus es bellum. Quid tu, ignoras arbores magnos diu crescere, unâ horâ extirpari? Stultus es, qui fructus earum spectat, altitudinem non metitur. Vide, ne dum ad cacumen pervenire contendis; cum ipsâ ramis, quos comprehenderis, decidas. Leo quoque aliquando minimarum avium pabulum fuit: et ferrum rubigo consumit. Nihil tam firmum est, cui periculum non sit etiam ab invalido. Quid nobis tecum est? nunquam terram tuam adtigimus. Qui sis, unde venias, licetne ignorare in vastis silvis viventibus? nec servire ulli possumus, nec imperare desideramus." (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--543, 544.) "Scythæ ipsi omnium literarum rudes rhetorico calamistroy inusti in medium proderunt," is a part of the severe judgment that Le Clerc (Jud. Cort. 326.) hath passed upon this harangue.



mind, the world would not be able to contain you ; you would stretch one arm out to the farthest extremities of the East, and the other to the remotest bounds of the West ; and not content therewith, would be for examining where the glorious body of the Sun hid itself ; but even as you are, your ambition attempts what you are not capable of. You pass out of Europe into Asia, and from Asia you return again to Europe ; and when you have overcome all mankind, rather than be quiet, you'll quarrel with the woods and the mountains, the rivers and wild beasts. Can you be ignorant, that large trees are a long time a growing, tho' an hour be sufficient to cut them down ? he is a fool that coveteth their fruit, without duly considering their height. Take heed that while you strive to climb up to the top, you do not fall headlong with those branches you have grasped. A lion has been sometime the prey of the smallest birds ; and iron itself is consumed by rust. In fine, there is nothing so firm and strong, but is in danger of perishing by what is weaker. What have you to do with us ? we never so much as set foot in your country. Shall not we who pass our lives in the woods, be allowed to be ignorant who you are, and whence you come ? know, that as we are not greedy of empire, so neither can we submit to be slaves." <sup>z</sup> Q. Curtius continues the harangue, and in some sentences perhaps expresses himself with a delicacy rather too refined, and a philosophy in some measure inconsistent with the speakers' characters.

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<sup>z</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius, Vol. 2.--42, 43.

“Our<sup>a</sup> poverty will still be too nimble for your army, that is laden with the spoils of so many nations. Again, when you think us the farthest from you, you shall find us within your camp. We are equally swift either to fly or pursue.———Hold therefore your fortune as close as you can, for she is slippery, and will not be held against her will. Whole some advice is better discovered by the consequences, than the present. Put a curb therefore to your prosperity, and you will govern it the better. We have a saying amongst us, that fortune is without feet, and has only hands and wings, and that when she reaches out her hands, she will not suffer her wings to be touched.”<sup>b</sup> This allegory on the vicissitudes of fortune, and the uncertainty of human greatness is possibly too ingenious for a people drawn from pastoral life, which hath little, if any, connection with literature and learning. If Q. Curtius had shortened this oration the sentiments would certainly have had more force, and the images more expression, but he could not deviate from himself. The matter however, it must be allowed, is very analogous to the genius of the persons, who are supposed to have pronounced the harangue, and the Costume, to speak metaphorically,

<sup>a</sup> “*Paupertas nostra velocior erit, quum exercitus tuus, prædam tot nationum vehit. Rursum quum procul abesse nos credes, videbis in tuis castris, eadem velocitate et sequimur et fugimus.———Proinde fortunam tuam pressis manibus tene. Lubrica est, nec invita teneri potest. Salubre consilium sequens quum præsens, tempus ostendit melius, impone felicitati tuæ frenos, facilius illam reges. Nostri sine pedibus dicant esse fortunam, quæ manus et pennas tantum habet; quum manus porrigit, pennas quoque comprehendere non finit.* Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--247, 248.

<sup>b</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--44.

metaphorically, is well preserved. Under these circumstances, there may be therefore some injustice in suspecting its reality.<sup>c</sup>

The language of a rude and uncivilized people is generally a figurative language, and their metaphors, which are both bold and nervous, are as often introduced in their familiar conversation, as by our modern poets in an Epic poem. Their speeches and harangues are naturally replete with images, with energy, and passion, and the same allusions are resorted to by the Scythian and the Savage.<sup>d</sup> The imagination of a people, neither enslaved by artificial wants, nor corrupted by prejudices, must be strongly affected by the great objects of nature, and every thing, that interests their preservation and their liberty, must be one of the most powerful incentives that can actuate them.

Every sentiment in this Scythian speech is borrowed from the  
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visible

<sup>c</sup> Mascardi. *Traët. della Art. Hist. C. 2. Ep. 1.*—Rooke's Translation of Arrian. Vol. 1. --220.—Voltaire *Essai sur le Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*. Tom. 14.--52. Ed. 8<sup>vo</sup> Geneve, 1775.

<sup>d</sup> "Figurative language," a great Writer hath observed, "owes its rise chiefly to two causes; to the want of proper names for objects, and to the influence of imagination and passion over the form of expression. Both these causes concur in the infancy of Society. Figures are commonly considered as artificial modes of speech, devised by orators and poets, after the world had advanced to a refined state. The contrary of this is the truth. Men never have used so many figures of style, as in those rude ages, when, besides the power of a warm imagination to suggest lively images, the want of proper and precise terms for the ideas they would express, obliged them to have recourse to circumlocution, metaphor, comparison, and all those substituted forms of expression, which give a poetical air to language. An American chief, at this day, harangues at the head of his tribe, in a more bold metaphorical style, than a modern European would adventure to use in an Epic poem." Blair's *Dissert. Ossian*, Vol. 2.--285, 286. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1785.

visible world, and every comparison drawn from sensible and immediate objects, which are hourly presented to the savage eye. One while, it is the setting sun, the fall of an aged oak, the rust that devoureth the iron; at another it is a war declared against the woods and waters, and in a word the fear of groaning under a foreign yoke, and seeing an enemy penetrate into their forests, to trouble their repose and civilize them. These are their first and principal apprehensions, and they give both an impulse to their eloquence, and rouse every faculty of the soul, for the purpose of repelling to a distance the storm, which menaces at once their liberty and manners.

The Latin historian was, notwithstanding, aware that his fidelity was open to some disquisition, and that his Scythian oration had no great pretensions either to belief or popular applause. "It is said," he tells us, "they addressed themselves to the King in the following terms; which though perhaps different from our manners, who live in a politer age, and have our parts better improved, yet such as it is, we shall faithfully relate, hoping that if their speech be despised, our integrity will not be suspected."<sup>e</sup>

Giving Q. Curtius credit for this protestation there are still some apparent variations in the form of the harangue, and the colouring,

<sup>e</sup> "Abhorrent forsitan moribus nostris et tempora et ingenia cultiora sortitis; sed ut possit oratio eorum sperni, tamen fides nostra non debet, quæ utcumque tradita sunt, incorrupta perfereamus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--542.

<sup>f</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--42.

ing, that he hath given it, to render it more agreeable to the taste of his own times, as well as to shew a little of his own ingenuity, is easily discernible. The last reproach he seems to have particularly foreseen, as he assures us, the Scythians<sup>e</sup> were persons of superior talents, and more improved understandings, than the rest of the Barbarians; but his ideas on the difference of the taste of his own times and that of the Scythians weaken the force of the observation. The Latin historian does not appear also to have sufficiently considered the nature of the eloquence of a savage people, which equally originates from a poverty of language, and a simplicity of manners.<sup>h</sup> As nations become civilized, their ideas change, and the imagination is no longer affected, as in the ruder state of society, by the same objects. Their manner of viewing things, and their method of expression necessarily vary, and their language cannot at the same time bear the impression of the separate and distinct characters of a savage and a polished people. It is not in the power of Q. Curtius to reconcile the contradiction, but it is time to return to Alexander and his expeditions.

If the companions of the Macedonian Hero, who were best able to describe his exploits from having been personally concerned in them, do not always agree in their accounts of the same facts,

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<sup>e</sup> "Scythia autem non ut cæteris barbaris rudis et inconditus sensus est." Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--542.

<sup>h</sup> The Abbe Arnaud hath made some sensible observations on this subject. Discours sur les Langues, Var. Lit. Tom. 1.



some indulgence is certainly due to writers, who have afterwards taken up the same subject, and described it differently. Arrian hath faithfully preserved the contradictory testimony of Ptolemy and Aristobulus<sup>1</sup> on the capture of Cyropolis. Ptolemy pretends that the city surrendered, and that its inhabitants were made prisoners: Aristobulus assures us that it was taken by assault, and that the garrison and citizens were indiscriminately put to the sword. It is extraordinary that there should have existed a city with the name of Cyropolis in these remote regions; but notwithstanding the Greeks sometimes translated into their own language the names of cities, they chose in preference to give them new ones founded on some tradition, which they adopted without discernment, and Cyropolis may have been amongst the number.

Q. Curtius hath committed an error, and been led into a mistake by the name of Hecatompylos, which Seleucus Nicanor bestowed on a city in Parthia.\* Mentioning this city in the progress of Alexander's conquests, he infers that it was founded by the Greeks,<sup>1</sup> though they were utter strangers to Parthia, before it was reduced under this Prince's obedience.

These

<sup>1</sup> “Την δὲ ἑβδόμην, πολλὴν ἐξ ἐφοδῶν ἐλάβει. Πτολεμαίου μὲν λέγει οἱ αὐτοὶ σφας ἐνδοῦναι· Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ, οἱ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξείλε, καὶ οἱ πάντας τὰς κατὰ ληψείας ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπεκρίνει· Πτολεμαίου δὲ καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν τὰς Ἀνδρωπῶν τῇ στρατίᾳ καὶ διδόμενους κτείνοντας φυλάττεσθαι.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 3.--263.

\* Appian. De Bello Syriac. Tom. 1.--201. Amst. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1670.

<sup>1</sup> “Urbs erat eâ tempestate clara Hecatompylos, condita a Græcis: ubi stativa rex habuit.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 6, C. 2. Tom. 1.--398, 399.

These Fables and Anachronisms are the result of the changes in the names of places, and cities, and they occasion a multitude of mistakes and difficulties.

After many different expeditions, the Macedonian army went into winter-quarters at Mautaca; but early in the spring it took again the field, and marched to attack the Rock, to which Ox-yartes had retreated with the Sogdians. The Macedonian bravery and discipline were again conspicuous, and the garrison overawed and astonished at the wonderful efforts of their enemy, laid down their arms.

The capture of Aornus which had successfully resisted Hercules,<sup>m</sup> and the submission of Nyfa, supposed to have been founded by Bacchus, were two events that naturally furnished Alexander's followers with the subject of a parallel between the Grecian Hero and the two Pagan Deities. But it may be questioned if Bacchus and Hercules were ever known in India or the East. The adoration of these Divinities was equally repugnant to the religious principles and manners of the inhabitants, and Megasthenes, a professed partisan of the supposition, speaks of it only as traditionary,<sup>n</sup> and of Greek extraction. The arrival of Hercules in  
India,

<sup>m</sup> "Εφασαν τον Ηρακλεα, τρεις μιν προσβαλειν τη ωιτρεα ταύνη, τρεις δ' αποκρεσθηναι." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1008.

<sup>n</sup> "Και πρo Αλεξανδρου, Διονυσος περι πολλων λογων κατεχει, ως κ' ταυτα εργατευσαντο es Ινδου, κ' κατασρεψαμιν Ινδου· Ηρακλειου δε περι, ο πολλοι." Arrian, Hist. Ind. C. 5.--559.

India, is considered even by this writer as very problematical,<sup>o</sup> but the opinion hath nevertheless been adopted by writers since the reign of Alexander, and transmitted to posterity on the apparent decisive evidence of public monuments.<sup>p</sup> Strabo gives us the sentiments of several writers who supposed the Oxydrachians to have been descended from Bacchus, and the Sibians to have sprung from the companions<sup>q</sup> of Hercules; but he refutes very rationally these absurd traditions, and introduces the opinions of the writers, that he mentions, with the following sentence. "Megasthenes and a few other authors believe the stories which have been told of Hercules and Bacchus, but Eratosthenes and the greater number consider them as fables, and as little deserving of any credit, as many other relations of the Greeks."<sup>r</sup>

Alexander traversed the Paropamisus, entered into an alliance with Taxilus and Abisares, and afterwards advanced to give battle to Porus, who had the courage to oppose the victorious army of the

<sup>o</sup> "Ἡρακλεὺς δὲ ἔ πολλα ὑπομνηματα" Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 5.--559.

<sup>p</sup> The Farnesian palace at Rome, contains an inscription, in which the arrival of Hercules on the banks of the Indus, and the foundation of a city with his name amongst the Sibians are mentioned. Corfini hath very amply commented upon it. *Herculis Exped. Gesta et Labores.* 37.

<sup>q</sup> The weak pretensions to this consanguinity may be seen in Strabo, Lib. 15.--1008. and Arrian, Hist. Ind. C. 5.

<sup>r</sup> "Καὶ τὰ Ἡρακλεὺς δὲ, καὶ Διονυσίου, Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγων πῖσα ἡγείται τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείους, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Εὐρατοσθένης, ἀπίσα καὶ μυθῶδε, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν." (Strabo. Lib. 15.--1007.) The Baron de St. Croix says "Il finit en ces termes." To have expressed himself correctly he should have said "Il commence en ces termes." The error is a strange one.

the Macedonian Monarch, and endeavoured to check the rapidity of his conquests. The Indian prince was advantageously posted on the banks of the Hydaspes,<sup>s</sup> in a situation that he had judiciously chosen to secure the passage of the river. A variety of manœuvres were made by the Macedonian army, which had been divided into different bodies, to deceive the enemy, and conceal the real place, in which the Hydaspes was intended to be crossed. Their first attempt was unsuccessful, and miscarried. During a very stormy night attended with very heavy rain, another effort was made, and the Macedonian Monarch eluded the vigilance of his antagonist and aided by the elements effected the passage of the river with safety. The Hydaspes, which was intersected by islands, and its steep and broken banks covered with wood, afforded him some local advantages, which he did not suffer to escape him. Arrian hath described the interesting movements<sup>w</sup> of both armies with great clearness and accuracy, but it is unnecessary to enter into them at length. Aristobulus<sup>w</sup> relates that the son of Porus, who at first appeared disposed to dispute the passage, afterwards retreated with sixty chariots, that he had with him; but other writers<sup>x</sup> assure us on the contrary, that the young prince attacked

<sup>s</sup> The modern Behut or Chælum.

<sup>t</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 12, 13, 14.--363—368.

<sup>w</sup> “Αριστοβαλῶν δὲ τὸν Πόρου παῖδα λεγὲν σφαλαί ἀφικομένον ἔκ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ὡς ἐξήκοῦσα, πρὶν τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς τῆς νῆσῳ τῆς μικρᾶς περὶ τῆς Αἰλῆδος.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367.

<sup>x</sup> “Οἱ δὲ καὶ μάχην λεγέσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκβάσει γενέσθαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν ἔκ τῳ πατρὶ τῳ Πόρῳ ἀφικόμενον πρὸς Αἰλῆαν.” —Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ἔκ τῳ μετὰ τὸν Πόρου παῖδα, καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν Αἰλῆαν ἀνδρῶν

attacked the Macedonian army with a superiority of forces, and wounded with his own hand both Alexander's horse Bucephalus, and Alexander. Arrian rejects these accounts, and bestows his principal attention upon Ptolemy who signalized himself very particularly in this memorable engagement. From this general's report,<sup>y</sup> the son of Porus was detached with a hundred and twenty chariots and two thousand horse, but he arrived too late to be of the intended service, as Alexander had already passed the last channel of the river. The Grecian Hero instantly attacked the Indian detachment, and the son of Porus was left dead upon the field, and a part of his troops and chariots taken. A general action soon followed, and Cænus with a detachment of the Macedonian troops appearing in the rear of the Indian army, it was under the necessity of changing its order of battle. In this distressing moment, Alexander made a successful attack with his cavalry on the division opposed to him, and it was pushed back upon the elephants, who became very unruly and increased the confusion. The whole of the Macedonian cavalry being afterwards

ανδρον τρωθηναι παρ' αυτε, κ̃ τον ἵππον αυτε αποθανειν τον Βουκεφαλαν, φιλατον Αλεξανδρω οντα τον ἵππον, κ̃ τετον τρωθεντα ἵπο τε παιδ̃̃ τε Πωρε." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367.) The Baron de St. Croix's expression is "Que Justin a pris pour guides," but I do not find it authorized by the text of Justin. "Nec Alexander pugnæ moram fecit: sed primâ congressione vulnerato equo, cum præcept in terram decidisset, concursu Satellitum servatus. Porus multis vulneribus obrutus capitur," (Justin. Lib. 12. C. 37.--322, 323.) is the brief description of this decisive action.

y "Πτολεμαϊ̃̃ ὁ Λαγος, ὅτω κ̃ ἔυμφορομαι, αλλως λεγει\* εκπεμφθηναι μεν γαρ κ̃ τον παιδα ἵπο τε Πωρε, αλλ' εκ̃ ἐξηκοντα μονα ἄρματα αἰν̃̃α—αλλα δυσχλιος γαρ λεγει ἵππειας αγοντα αφικεσθαι τον Πωρε παιδα, ἄρματα δε ἑκατον κ̃ ἑκοσι\* φθασαι δε περασαντα Αλεξανδρον κ̃ τον εκ της νη̃̃ς τον τελευταιον πωρον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367, 368.



wards thrown into a body, and hemming in the enemy, the phalanx was directed to form very closely and attack them, by which great numbers of them were slain. Craterus also, who had been left on the opposite banks of the Hydaspes to deceive Porus and divide his attention, crossed the river during the engagement, and completed the rout. The vanquished Monarch lost two of his sons in the action, near twenty thousand of his infantry, three thousand of his cavalry, and all his chariots and elephants. Arrian from whom these circumstances<sup>z</sup> are borrowed, reduces the Macedonian loss to two hundred and thirty of the cavalry, and eighty of the infantry, but Diodorus Siculus differs with him. The latter writer reckons the Indians to have left twelve thousand men on the field of battle, and to have had nine thousand made prisoners. The victory, however, according to his statement, cost Alexander two hundred and eighty of his cavalry and above seven hundred of his infantry,<sup>a</sup> which certainly appears more probable

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than

<sup>z</sup> On a review of these circumstances, which the Baron de St Croix had extracted from Arrian, I felt the obligation of new moulding the whole. They now stand nearly as Arrian relates them, but the first confusion was not the consequence of "Le desordre que les elephants causoient dans le rangs."

"Οἱ περὶ Κοῖνον, ὡς παρεγγέλτο, κατοπιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφαινοντο· Ταῦτα ξυνιδοῖτες οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀμφιστοιμὸν ἡναγκασθῆσαν ποιῆσαι τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἵππου——τετὸ τε ἐν εὐθείᾳ ἐταράξε τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰνδῶν."

"Alexandre rassembla sa cavalerie" is directly contradicted by the "Καὶ ἐν τῇ τῷ πασῇ ἡ ἵππῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς μίαν ἰλὴν ἤδη ξυνηγμένη, ἣκ ἐκ παρεγγέλματός, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγωνί αὐτῷ ἐς τὴνδε τὴν τάξιν κατὰς αὐτήν" and the "Ce prince perdit dans cette bataille——deux mille hommes de pied," is an unpardonable translation of the "Ἀπεθάνον δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδεόντες τῶν δυσμενῶν" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 17, 18.--372——375.

<sup>a</sup> "Ἐπεσον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλείους τῶν μυριάων καὶ δισχιλίων, ἐν οἷς ὑπερχον καὶ δύο ἴσκι τε Πωρῆ, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι τῶν ἡγεμονῶν· ζῶντες δὲ ἄνδρες ἑάλωσαν ὑπὲρ ἐννακισχιλίας"——ταῦτα δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐπεσον μὲν ἵππεις διακοσίοι καὶ οὐδὲν ὀλίγον, περὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--229.

than Arrian's account, though his description of the engagement merits great encomiums. That of Diodorus Siculus is marked with strong features of uncommon negligence, and even the passage of the Hydaspes, which was of so much consequence, is totally omitted.

The confusion of Q. Curtius, with his contradictions and absurdities, might afford materials for a long digression, but a few examples will be sufficient. "When you see me, with Ptolemy, Perdiccas and Hephæstion, charge the enemy's left wing, and shall observe us to be in the heat of action, put the right wing in motion and charge the enemy," &c. &c."—To attack the left wing of the enemy it was necessary for Alexander to have been at the head of his right wing, and Cœnus then could not have possibly commanded it. Yet a few lines afterwards, Q. Curtius tells us, that the Macedonian Prince having commenced the action agreeable to this disposition, Cœnus attacked with impetuosity the enemy's left wing.<sup>c</sup>

The extraordinary stature of King Porus, he tells us also, was  
apparently

<sup>b</sup> "Quum ego, inquit, Ptolemæo Perdiccâque et Hephæstione comitatus in lævum hostium cornu impetum fecero, viderisque me in medio ardore certaminis; ipse dextrum move et turbatis signa infer." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--661, 662.) The commentators have laboured to rectify this passage, but without effect.

<sup>c</sup> "Jamque; ut destinatum erat, invaserat ordines hostium; quum Cœnus ingenti vi in lævum cornu invehitur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--663.

apparently augmented by the size of his Elephant,<sup>d</sup> which is an offence against the common rules of Perspective. Porus received nine wounds in the action, from which he lost a vast quantity of blood, and was so much weakened, that he had not strength to throw a dart, but it fell useless from his hands.<sup>e</sup> We are afterwards informed, that a brother of Taxiles was sent by Alexander to prevail on the Indian Monarch to lay down his arms. At the voice of this temporizing Prince, in a paroxysm of rage, he seized the only remaining arrow in his quiver, and discharged it with such violence, that it stretched the indiscreet negotiator on the ground.<sup>f</sup> It might have been reasonably imagined that this exertion would have entirely exhausted him, but notwithstanding his extreme debility, he resumes his flight with greater expedition, and was stopped only by the wounds of his elephant.<sup>g</sup>

Arrian's account is not filled with such glaring contradictions, nor manifest absurdities. Porus receives a wound in his right

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shoulder,

<sup>d</sup> "Magnitudine Pori adjicere videbatur belua, quâ vehebatur, tantum inter ceteras eminens, quanto aliis ipse præstabat." Q. Curtius, Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--660, 661.

<sup>e</sup> "Novem jam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore exceperat, multoque sanguine profuso languidis manibus magis elapsa, quum excussa tela mittebat." Q. Curtius, Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--665.

<sup>f</sup> "At ille quamquam exhaustæ erant vires, deficiebatque sanguis; tamen ad notam vocem excitatus: agnosco, inquit, Taxilis fratrem imperii regnique sui proditoris: et telum, quod unum forte non effluerat, contorsit in eum, quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum." Q. Curtius, Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--665.

<sup>g</sup> "Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito fugere acrius cæpit, sed elephantus quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat, itaque sistit fugam." Q. Curtius, Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--665.

shoulder, the only vulnerable part of his body, which was everywhere else covered by his excellent armour, and unable to continue the engagement in person, he found it necessary to quit the field.—Taxiles is sent afterwards to him, and at the sight of his ancient enemy, Porus attacks him with a dart, from which he escapes only by flight. A second negotiation is then opened under the management of Meroes, and Porus is prevailed upon to accept the terms, which Meroes was authorized by the Macedonian Monarch to offer him.<sup>h</sup>

This celebrated action bears date, according to Arrian,<sup>i</sup> in the month Munychion, during the magistracy of Hegemon, who was the Athenian Archon, in the second year of the 118<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, 327 years before Christ. Diodorus Siculus<sup>k</sup> refers it to the magistracy of Chremes, the successor of Hegemon, but Arrian's computation is confirmed by the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>l</sup> which is both preferable to that of Diodorus Siculus, and is also demonstrated to have been correct by Corsini in his Attic annals.<sup>m</sup>

Every

<sup>h</sup> Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 18.--377.

<sup>i</sup> "Τετο το τελθ. τη μαχη τη προς των Πωρων.—επ'αρχοντθ. Αθηναίοις Ήγεμονθ, μηνθ Μουνυχίωνθ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 19.--379.

<sup>k</sup> "Επ'αρχοντθ. δ' Αθηνησι Χρεμητθ.—Αλεξανδρθ. εν τη Ταξιλι χωρα προς αναλαβων την δυναμιν, εσφατευζεν επι Πωρων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--228.

<sup>l</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus adds nothing to Arrian's authority, for he barely mentions Hegemon amongst the other Athenian Archons. De Dinar. Judicium. Tom. 5.--649.

<sup>m</sup> Corsini. Att. Annal. Tom. 4.--47, 48.



Every thing flooped to Alexander after this victory, and he passed the Hyphasis full of ardour and of expectation, with the resolution of penetrating to the Ganges and of bounding his conquests only with the Universe. But the murmurs of his army stopped him in the midst of his mighty projects, and shortened his vast career. Plutarch hath acknowledged to us the real causes of the dissatisfaction of the Macedonian foldiers, <sup>a</sup> on whose spirits victory had only a momentary influence. The valour of Porus and the obstinate resistance of his troops were what they had neither foreseen, nor been prepared for, and new difficulties and dangers threatened them at every step that they advanced. On the banks of the Ganges they were aware of the formidable

<sup>a</sup> Both Philostratus (De Vit. Apoll. Lib. 2. C. 33.--86.) and Strabo (Lib. 15.--1025.) have supposed that some oracular denunciations stopped the Macedonian Monarch on the banks of the Hyphasis, but mere political reasons appear to have regulated his movements. "Τὴς μὲν τοὶ Μακεδόνας ὁ ὡς Πωρον ἀγων ἀμέλτερος ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῆς Ἰνδίκης ἐτι πρὸς ἐλθεῖν ἐπέσχετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἠκύνον ὑπάρχοντες, δις μυρίοις πεζοῖς, καὶ δις χιλίοις ἵππεσι παρὰ τὰ ξάμενον, ἀντήσαν ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βιάζομεν καὶ τὸν Γαγῆν περὶ αἰ ποταμὸν, εὐρὺ μὲν αὐτὴ, δύο καὶ τριακόντα σταδίων εἶναι πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ βαρὺ ἐργασίας ἕκατον· ἀντιπερὶ δὲ τὰς οὐχθας ἀποκεκυφθεὶς, πληθεῖσιν ὅπλων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων· ἐλεγόντο γὰρ οὐκ ἔτι μὲν μυριάδας ἵππων, ἑκοὶ δὲ πεζῶν, ἄρματα δὲ οὐκ ἑκατομμύρια, καὶ μάχης ἐλεφάντας ἑκατομμύριας ἔχοντες οἱ Γανδαρίδων καὶ Περσίων βασιλεὺς ὑπομένειν· καὶ κομπῶν ἡν περὶ τὰ ταῦτα." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--699.) Diodorus Siculus differs as to the power of the Gandarides, but imputes Alexander's retreat to the same prudential motives. "Καταντήσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Γαγῆν πόλιν μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἰνδοῦ καὶ ἀπολεμήσας, ὥς ἐπυθετο τῆς Γανδαρίδας εἶναι τετρακισχίλιος ἐλεφάντας πολέμικως κεκοσμημένους, ἀπεγὼν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῆς στρατείαν." (Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--150.) And he declares afterwards that "Τῶν Μακεδόνων ὑδάμους συγκαταδεδειμένων, ἀπέστη τῆς ἐπιβολῆς." (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--233.) Arrian also with great candour states the mutiny. "Οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἐξεκαμνον ἡδὴ ταῖς ἡμέραις, πόνους τε ἐκ πόνων καὶ κινδύνους ἐκ κινδύνων ἐπαναίρεσθαι ὄρωντες τὸν βασιλέα· ξιλλογοὶ τε ἐγγιγνόντο κατὰ τὸ στρατοπέδον, τῶν μὲν τὰ σφέτερα οὐδόμενων, ὅσοι ἐπὶ ἐκείνοι· τῶν δὲ ἐκ ἀκολούθησεν, καὶ δὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐπισχυρίζομενων." Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 25.--393.



formidable powers, the Gangarides and Prasians, and the prospect before their eyes was filled with numerous and repeated engagements, in which there was every probability that the Grecian bravery must at last sink, overpowered by continual exertions against such hosts of enemies.

The banks of the Hyphasis were then the barrier, which Alexander could not pass. The followers of the Macedonian Monarch have indeed extended his military operations, and Craterus informed his mother Aristopatra, by letter, ° that the Conqueror of the East had made his way to the Ganges. This letter was published, and, in all likelihood, gave some foundation for the error, <sup>p</sup> but

° “Εκδεδοῖαι δὲ τις καὶ Κράτις πρὸς τὴν μήτερα Αἰσιπομένην ἐπιστολή, πολλὰ τε ἀλλὰ παραδοξὰ φράζεσα, καὶ ἐκ ὁμολογῆσαι ὅθεν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον Γαγγὺς πρὸςελθὲν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1027.

<sup>p</sup> “Καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁρμηθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν τετῶν ἀχρεὶ τῆ Γαγγύος διήλθε.” Arrian. Perip. Maris Eryth. 169. 8<sup>vo</sup> Amst. 1683.

“————Macætum fines, latebrasque fuorum  
Deseruit, victasque patri despexit Athenas.  
Perque Asiæ populos fatis urgentibus actus,  
Humanâ cum strage ruit, gladiumque per omnes  
Exegit gentes: ignotos miscuit amnes,  
Perfarum Euphraten, Indorum sanguine Gangen.”

Lucan. Phars. Lib. 10.--28—33.

See also Syncellus. 210.—Zonares. Lib. 4.--144. Philostratus pointedly denies the pretended fact: “Τὴν δὲ χώραν ταυτην οὐδε ἐπηλθεν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος.” (De Vit. Apoll. Lib. 2. C. 33.--86. Folio. Lips. 1709.) and though Diodorus Siculus states in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Book (Tom. 1.--150.) that Alexander reached the Ganges, in the 17<sup>th</sup> Book, he stops at the Hyphanis, (or Hyphasis, See Salmastii. Plin. Exercit. 55.) “Ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑπανιν ποταμὸν πρὸςελθὲν.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--332.) Whether the Greek historian afterwards discovered his mistake, or had forgotten the first part of his Work, I leave to be determined.

but the rest of the occurrences, that it mentioned, were equally fictitious.—Justin relates that Alexander reduced the Acestes, the Prasides and Gangarides, and that he carried his victorious arms into the country of the Cuphites. Many other people are also taken notice of, whose names are as little known as that of the Cuphites; but this may be perhaps attributed to the corruption of the text. Neither Paulus Orosius nor any of the manuscripts have hitherto afforded any satisfactory information respecting the names of various towns and nations, which are so generally and so much disfigured in Justin. Little suspicion is to be apprehended of any alteration in Plutarch's expressions, and if they carry the construction, that the kingdom of Porus was the last of Alexander's conquests, the obscurity may be naturally deduced from the confusion of this writer, who hath not been sufficiently attentive to the relation of events, and hath frequently inverted the order of the facts, that he mentions.<sup>9</sup>

The Itinerary of Bæton and of Diognetus,<sup>†</sup> and even the letters of Alexander, as well as all the historians of his life and actions,  
have

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--699.

<sup>†</sup> "Diognetus et Bæton itinerum ejus menfores scripfere———ad Hypafin,——qui fuit Alexandri itinerum terminus, exsuperato tamen amne, arifque in adverfâ ripâ dicatis. Epiftolæ quoque regis ipfius confentiunt his. (Plin. Hift. Nat. Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--683, 684.) Philoftratus hath preferved the votive infcriptions. "ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ, ΚΑΙ ΉΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΗ ΟΛΥΜΠΩΙ, ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΞΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΩΙ ΉΛΙΩΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ." (De Vit. Appol. Lib. 2. C. 43.--94.) A brazen column was faid alfo to have been raifed, on which "ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΕΣΤΗ," was engraven.

have described the Altars erected by his order on the Eastern shore of the Hyphasis, \* which were twelve in number and rivalled the loftiest towers in height and elevation. These immense masses of stone were intended to perpetuate to future ages the memory of his conquests, and were considered at the same time as a grateful and acceptable offering to the Gods. Yet monuments, erected by hands stained with the blood of every Asiatic nation, were certainly very questionable methods of imploring the favourable regard of Heaven, and from the insatiable vanity of the Conqueror of the East more probably the real though concealed motives of the structures are to be deduced.—The various towns and cities which Alexander founded in the different countries, that he passed through, are to be considered in the same point of view, and as trophies † of his victories. Plutarch ‡ reckons them to have exceeded seventy,

\* The modern Settledge or Suttaluz.

† Pausanias advances “Οὐ γὰρ τι Μακεδόνιν ἴσαναι τροπαιὰ ἡν νενομισμένον” and he produces Alexander as an instance: “Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐκ ἀναγκῆς ἔτε ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ τροπαιὰ, εἰ ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς νικαῖς.” (Lib. 9. C. 40.--794, 795.) But Q. Curtius (Lib. 3. C 12. Tom. 1.--143.) mentions three altars erected by the Macedonian Monarch after the battle of Issus, of which there were some remains in Cicero’s time; (Epist. Famil. Lib. 15. Tom. 7.--526.) and Herodian more decisively speaks of a city built by the Macedonian Monarch in memory of the battle of Issus: “Μένει δὲ ἐτι νῦν τροπαίον, καὶ δειγµα τῆς νίκης ἐκείνης πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ” &c.” (Lib. 3.--63. Ed. Steph. 4<sup>to</sup> 1584.) Pocock suspects a ruin that he saw to have been the foundation of the altars erected near Pinarus, and the remains of a thick wall on the southern hills to have been part of this city of Nicopolis, built in honour of Alexander’s victory over Darius. Pocock’s Travels. Vol. 2. --176, 177.

‡ “Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἰσθμοῦ κροντα πόλεις βαρβάρους ἐθνεσιν εἵτισας, καὶ κατασπείρας τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑλλήνικοις τέλεσι τῆς ἀνημέρου καὶ θηριώδους ἐκρατήσε δαιτύης” (Plut. De Fort vel Virt. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 2.--328.

ty, and he assures us that under Alexander's reign the wilds of Asia were peopled by Grecian colonies, who disseminated instruction amongst the natives, and reclaimed them from their rude and savage state of life. Diodorus Siculus even pretends that the Conqueror built, near Paropamisus, several towns which were only a single day's journey from each \* other.

Bucephalia<sup>y</sup> owed its name to the Conqueror's celebrated horse Bucephalus, who died in its environs, and Sotion, according to Plutarch, relates his having heard from Potamon the Lesbian, that the Macedonian Monarch directed a town also to be built in honour of his favourite dog Perites.<sup>z</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus<sup>a</sup> speaks of eighteen different cities under the name of Alexandria, one of which was situated in the island of Cyprus, and the author of the chronicle<sup>b</sup> of Alexandria places another in the Pentapolis of Africa, which the Conqueror of the East had never visited.

This is apparently decisive evidence of the existence of these cities, but their foundation is not to be attributed to the Macedo-

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nian

\* “Ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλαις πόλεσι ἐκτίσεν, ἡμέρας ὁδὸν ἀπέχουσαι τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--224.

<sup>y</sup> Supposed to be the modern Lahore.

<sup>z</sup> “Καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἐπ’ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην Βουκεφαλίαν προσηγορεύσεν· λεγέται δὲ καὶ κινὰ Περίαν· ὀνόμα τετραμμενον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ σεργόμενον ἀποβαλὼν κίσαι πόλιν ἐπωνυμιον· τῷ δὲ Σοτίων φησὶν Πολιμυνοῦ· ἀνοῦσαι τῇ Λεσβίῳ.” Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera, Tom. 1.--699.

<sup>a</sup> Stephan. Byzantinus. Ἀλεξανδρεία.

<sup>b</sup> Chronic. Alex. Ed. Raderi. 398.



nian Monarch without deliberate examination. Alexander's rapid march, or more correctly speaking, his military journey, would barely have allowed him time to think of such numerous establishments, and his army could not possibly have supplied him with a sufficiency of inhabitants for these infant colonies. The rooted attachment in the Grecian bosom for its native soil was likewise well known to have kept a long and lasting hold upon it, and the chosen band which had ranged itself under the banners of the Younger Cyrus preferred a return to their own country at the risk of a thousand perils, to all the advantages, that were offered them by a great and grateful Monarch. Xenophon, their leader, made every effort, but in vain, to induce them to settle in Asia, where an easy conquest would have fixed them in a situation, that must soon have rendered the establishment the most flourishing and richest on the Euxine sea. The soldiers of such a nation would not willingly have renounced the happiness of revisiting their country, where the united voices of their families recalled them, and have given up the consolation of expiring amidst the embraces of their relations and their friends, which formed in their opinions the last, though not least precious, of earthly blessings.<sup>c</sup> With these

<sup>c</sup> Death, in a strange country, and at a distance from every endearing connection, was reckoned by the ancients to be peculiarly distressing, and the thoughts of it sharpened the pangs of separation and of exile. The mournful office of closing the eyes of their expiring parents, or children, was a duty of religious importance, and wherever it could not be performed, it was feelingly lamented. Penelope offers up a prayer for it.

“*Di precor hoc jubeant, ut euntibus ordine Fatis,  
Ille meos oculos comprimat, ille tuos.*”

Ovid. *Heroid. Epist.* 1.--101. Tom. 1.--13. 4<sup>to</sup> Amst. 1727.

And



these sentiments a voluntary exile in the middle of Asia could not have been expected from them, which at the same time exposed them to inveterate enemies, who were jealous of their prosperity, and considered them both as usurpers of their territories, and their future Tyrants. The improvement of the colony in this precarious situation could have been little attended to, and in a state of continual apprehensions or hostilities, where the whole force was requisite for its defence, few hands could have been spared for the cultivation of the ground or the labours of Agriculture.

Commerce sometimes infuses a portion of life and vigour into new establishments, but it depends on the easy and secure conveyance of merchandize, and a proper medium of barter and exchange. Mutual wants will likewise often form an intercourse between distant nations, but if the inhabitants of the cities, ima-

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gined

And afterwards makes use of the argument to hasten the return of Ulysses to Ithaca.

"Respice Laerten: ut jam sua lumina condas."

Ovid. *Heroid.* Epist. 1.--113.

Polyxena also offers the same soothing idea to Hecuba in an agony of grief.

"—Και θανέσης ομμα συγκλείσει το σου."

Euripidis *Hecuba.* 430. Tom. 1.--21. 4<sup>to</sup> Lipf. 1778.

In their last moments therefore the "Συντεροφον ομμα" (*Sophoclis Philoctetes.* 173. Tom. 2. --367. 4<sup>to</sup> Paris. 1781.) of their family and friends, an expression that sets translation at defiance, afforded them the most cheering satisfaction. Gray hath alluded to the wish for it in the Church-yard Elegy: Pope hath bewailed the want of it.

"No friend's complaint, no kind domestic tear,  
Pleas'd thy pale ghost, or grac'd thy mournful bier.  
By foreign hands thy dying eyes were clos'd,  
By foreign hands thy decent limbs compos'd."

Elegy to an Unfortunate Lady. 49.

gined to have been founded by the Conqueror, were only furnished with the common productions of the country from their own settlements, they were not likely to be possessed of many articles of traffic, that could have been an object to their neighbours, and as to their own country, every hope of a safe and regular communication between Greece and the Paropamisus or the banks of the Iaxartes was totally cut off. The number therefore of those towns in all probability ought to be reduced, and many of them, whose foundation is not to be doubted, must be looked on as Trophies, which were soon demolished by the neighbouring nations, or abandoned by their own inhabitants.<sup>d</sup> Some, from their advantageous position, were afterwards rebuilt, and their ancient names on their new creation were revived out of respect for the memory of the Conqueror of Asia. Those, which Abulpharagius mentions, ought certainly to be ranked in this class, and the supposition is not perhaps an imaginary one, that the successors of Alexander from  
vanity

<sup>d</sup> "Græci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti Garabastrâ, orta inter ipsos seditione, defece- rant; non tam Alexandro infensi, quam metu supplicii. Quippe occisis quibusdam popularium, qui validiores erant, arma spectare cœperunt; et Bactrianâ arce, quæ quasi negligentius adservata erat, occupata, barbaros quoque in societatem defectionis impulerant. Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui regis quoque nomen adsumperat; non tam imperii cupidine, quam in patriam rever- tendi cum iis, qui auctoritatem ipsius sequebantur." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C. 7. Tom. 2.—714, 715.) Dr. Robertson (Notes on the Hist. Disquisition concerning India. 193.) hath very ably combated this opinion of the Baron de St. Croix. Yet Cæmus in his speech, which may be found in Arrian at length, lets us without reserve into the Grecian sentiments. "Τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς πρὸς σὲ οἰκισθεῖσαις κατωκισμένοι, εὐδ' ὅτοι πάντα ἔκοντες μένουσιν— καὶ ταῖς ξυμπασὶ πόθε μὲν γονεῶν ἐσιν, ὅσοις ἐλὶ σῶζονται, πόθε δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, πόθε δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκίας." (Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 27. 399, 400.) I sincerely respect and admire Dr. Robertson's great learning and uncommon talents, and I feel with reluctance the force of Arrian's expressions.

vanity or gratitude distinguished many of their own foundation with his name.<sup>e</sup>

Man generally communicates his partialities and prejudices to the society of which he is a member. The idea of an illustrious origin hath flattered the ambition of individuals, cities, and nations, and they have repeatedly ransacked the annals of the world to demonstrate their antiquity, and carry back their history to a time, in which every thing was lost in one common and general obscurity. Many towns from these motives have chosen Alexander for their founder, and Smyrna, having no pretensions to that distinction hath contented itself with the honour of being restored by Alexander,<sup>f</sup> though its title to it, is not confirmed by any cotemporary writer.

But it may be proper to attend to the progress of the Macedonian army, which embarked on vessels constructed or collected on the banks of the Hyphasis, and afterwards dropped down this river to the Indus.<sup>g</sup> Q. Curtius and Diodorus Siculus have equally deceived themselves in supposing the Macedonian fleet to have  
been

<sup>e</sup> See Appian. De Bello Syriac. 201.

<sup>f</sup> Pausanias however styles Alexander "Της πόλεως οικιστής" (Lib. 7.-533.) but Aristides ridicules the fable. "Μη γὰρ μοι Λυσίμαχον εἶπῃ, μὴδὲ Ἀλεξάνδρον αὐτοῖον, μὴδὲ Θησεῖα καὶ μύθους· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἰκίσαι τῆς πόλεως γενεσθεῖν" Orat. Tom. 1.--513. 4<sup>to</sup> Oxon. 1722.

<sup>g</sup> "Inde Alexander ad amnem Acefinem pergit: per hanc in oceanum devehitur." Justin. Lib. 12. C. 9.--327.

been built on the shore of the Acefines,<sup>h</sup> and Alexander to have returned by a retrograde<sup>i</sup> march, as useless, as contradictory to every other writer. A war followed between the Macedonians and the Malli, and in the attack of one of their towns the Grecian Hero was personally exposed to the fury of an enraged enemy, and the Conqueror of the East was in imminent danger of perishing like a common and ordinary adventurer.<sup>k</sup>

✠ Alexander having reached the mouth of the Indus, directed his march towards Gedrosia, without leaving the sea at any great distance,

<sup>h</sup> "The modern Ienaub.

<sup>i</sup> "Μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁδοῖς πορευθεὶς ἀνεκκμῖεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσινὴν ποταμὸν· καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ σκαφὰ νευαυπηγημένα, καὶ ταῦτα καταβῆσας, ἔπειτα πρὸς ἐναυπηγησάτο." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--234.) "Repetens quæ emensus erat, ad flumen Acefinem locat castra——jam in aquâ classis, quam ædificari jusserat, stabat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C. 3. Tom. 2.--688, 689.

<sup>k</sup> Plutarch, (Tom. 1.--700.) Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 9, 10.--423---428.) Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--236, 237.) and Q. Curtius (Lib. 9. C. 4, 5. Tom. 2.--700---704.) have given a diffusive detail of this wonderful instance of Alexander's temerity, and still more wonderful escape. Justin (Lib. 12. C. 9.--328, 329.) hath compressed it into a narrower compass, but the two Latin historians have varied the scene of this singular mixture of rashness and courage. Q. Curtius relates it on the attack of the capital of the Oxydracians, and Lucian, (Dialog. Mort. 14. Sect. 5. Tom. 1.--397.) Appian, (De Bell. Civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--852.) Stephanus Byzantinus, (Ὀξυδρακκοί) and Pausanias (Lib. 1.--15.) agree with him. It is possible the Malli might inhabit a part of Oxydrachia, and the expression of "Τὸς οὐαμαζόμενος Μαλλῶς" may perhaps give some little plausibility to the conjecture, which will then reconcile the different writers, Justin excepted. Alexander is supposed, by this Latin author, to have hurried himself into this dangerous combat at the city of the Ambri and Sugambri, but Orosius, who copied Justin, hath boldly transformed these people into the Malli and Oxydrachians. The Ambri and Sugambri have hitherto retained with inflexible obstinacy their station in the text of Justin, but the commentators have allowed the reading to be spurious.—Major Rennel hath marked, near the banks of the Hydraotes or Rauvee of our times, the probable situation of this city.



tance, and passed through a country of great extent, which was both barren, uncultivated, and destitute of water. Diodorus Siculus after this account of the deserts, which the Macedonian army traversed, adds, that Alexander separated his army into three divisions, and gave orders for the country to be ravaged, which was instantly executed, and the troops returned from the general pillage loaden with plunder and besmeared with the blood of millions of the inhabitants, that they had massacred. <sup>1</sup> The rest of the historians are silent on this shameful subject.

The Bacchanalian march, however, of the Macedonian army through Carmania hath been admitted without hesitation by many of them, <sup>m</sup> and Arrian hath alone rejected this scene of riot and intemperance,

<sup>1</sup> “Diodore apres avoir parle de la pauvreté des Gedrosiens, et des deserts que traverserent les troupes Macedoniennes, ne craint pas d’avancer qu’Alexandre ayant divisée son armée en trois corps ordonna aux commandants de ces divisions de ravager ce pays.” I have deviated essentially from the French sentence for the purpose of rescuing Diodorus Siculus from at least this charge of inconsistency, with which he hath been reproached. It was after the Macedonian army had traversed these extensive deserts that the pillage was made on the borders of the Oritæ, according to the Text of Diodorus Siculus, and the term “Ce pays” is not authorized. “Και τῆς Κεδρωσιαν οἰκῆντας χωρὶς κινδύνων πρὸς ἡγάγετο. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πολλὴν μὲν ἀνύδρον, ἐκ ὀλίγην δὲ ἐρημον διελθὼν, ἐπὶ τὰ Ωρεῖτιδι ὄρεα κατήνησεν· εἰς τρεῖς δὲ μέρη τὴν δύναμιν διελόμενος· ————— εἰγήμε τὰς τοπικὰς πύρας καὶ διαρπαγὰς καὶ πολλῶν φονῶν ————— οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται πολλὰς λείας ἐκυριεύσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀναξιδέντων σωματῶν ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο πολλῶν μυριάδων.” Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--242.

<sup>m</sup> “Αὐτον μὲν ἐν ἵπποις σχεδὸν ἐκομίζον οὐκὼ μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὑπὲρ θυμέλης ἐν ὑψηλῇ καὶ περιφανείᾳ παλαίσῃ πεπηγυίας, εὐωχούμενον συνεχῶς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς· ἁμαξαὶ δὲ παμπληθεῖς, αἱ μὲν ἄλλεγοις καὶ ποικίλοις περιβολαίοις, αἱ δὲ ὕλης αἰεὶ προσφατεῖ καὶ χλωρῆς οἰαζόμεναι κλαδοῖς, ἔπιοντο, τῆς ἄλλης ἀγύσκει φίλης καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐσεφάνωμενες, καὶ πινοντας· εἰδὼς δ’ ἂν ἐπελτὴν, ἐκράνθη, ἐσαρίσαν, ἀλλὰ φιλῆαις καὶ εὐτοῖς, καὶ θηρικλείους παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται βῆπτιζοντες, ἐκ πίτων μεγάλων καὶ κρατήρων ἀλλήλοισι



intemperance, as both improbable and absurd. <sup>n</sup> Neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus nor any of the cotemporary writers have mentioned it, and there seem to have existed some physical and substantial reasons, which lead us to doubt of its reality.—It is not probable that the Macedonian forces, after the excessive fatigues of their long and laborious march to Gedrosia, in which they had suffered the extremities of hunger and thirst, and had been reduced so very considerably by sickness, <sup>o</sup> should have plunged at once into an

αλλήλοις προσπιπών, οἱ μὲν, ἐν τῷ ποταγείν ἄμα καὶ βαδίζειν, οἱ δὲ κατακείμενοι\* πολλὰ δὲ μέσθ' αὐγῶν καὶ αὐλῶν, ὥδης τε καὶ ψαλμῶν καὶ βακχεῖας γυναικῶν, κατεῖχε πάντα τοπον.” (De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--702.) “Vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coronisque sterni jubet: liminibus ædium crateras vino repletos, et alia eximie magnitudinis vasa disponi: vehicula deinde confrata, ut plures capere milites possent, in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candidis velis, alia veste pretiosa. Primi ibunt amici et cohors regia, variis redimita floribus coronisque, alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyrae sonus audiebatur: item in vehiculis pro copia ejusque adornatis commessabundus exercitus, armis quæ maxime decora erant circumpendentibus. Ipsum convivasque currus vehebat, crateris aureis ejusdemque materie ingentibus poculis prægravis. Hoc modo per dies septem bacchabundum agmen incescit; parta præda, si quid victis faltem adversus commessantes animi fuisset: mille hercule, viri modo et sobrii, septem dierum crapula graves in suo triumpho capere potuerunt.” (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 10. Tom. 2.--742, 743.) The reflection that follows is certainly an apposite one. “Et præsens Ætas et Posteritas mirata est, per gentes nondum fatis domitas incescisse temulentos, barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam esse credentibus.” Whether it may not impeach the credit of the relation may be a question.

<sup>n</sup> “Ταῦτα δὲ ἔτε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγός, ἔτε Ἀριστοβούλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ἀνεγρᾶψαν, ὅτε τις ἀλλοῦ ὄντινα ἰκάνον ἂν τις ποιησάιτο τεκμηριώσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιῶνδε\* καὶ μοι ὡς κ' αἰσα ἀναγεγραφθῆαι ἐξηκέσαν” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 28.--467.

<sup>o</sup> “Dans la Gedrosie.” These excessive fatigues, if we are to believe some of the Greek and Latin authors, were experienced before the army reached Gedrosia, and on that account I have varied the expression. “Αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ δι' Ὀρεῖτων πορευομένοι, εἰς ἐσχατὴν ἀπορίαν ὡσηχθῆναι, καὶ πληθὺν ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεσεν, ὥς τῆς μαχίμης δυνάμειος μὲν το τεῖλαρον ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀπαΐσκειν——ἀλλὰ καὶ νοσοὶ χαλεπαί, καὶ διαίλαι πονηραί, καὶ καννυαία ξηρα, καὶ πλείους ὄλιμοι διεφθέρειν——μόλις κ' ἐν ἡμέ-

an excess of debauchery, and that a general of Alexander's ability could have either authorized by his example a licentiousness destructive of military discipline, or even allowed of it, by a weak and impolitic connivance. <sup>p</sup>

Alexander returned with his army into Persia, and there communicated to the troops his intention of discharging the Invalids, which occasioned a dangerous insurrection in the Macedonian camp. A stroke of authority stopped its progress, and thirteen of the principal mutineers were instantly seized and put to death. Alexander then shut himself up within his tent, excluded the Macedonians, and admitted only the Persians to his confidence. The experiment was a hazardous one, but it succeeded. The Macedonians returned with tears to their duty and obedience; and the Monarch overpowered by the sensibility that they discovered on a sense of their misconduct, both pardoned the ferment, and restored them to his favour. Ten thousand Veterans soon after-

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wards

εἰς ἐξηκοντα ταυτην διαλθων, καὶ τῆς Γεδρωσικῆς ἀψαμένῳ, εὐθὺς ἐν ἀφρονοῖς τὴν πασίν" (Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--702.) Q. Curtius hath given a florid description of the distress of the Macedonian army, which he winds up with "Itaque sane duntaxat vindicatus exercitus, tandem in Gedrosiæ fines perducitur. Omnium rerum sola fertilis regio est, in qua stativa habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmaret." Lib. 9. C. 10. Tom. 2.--740.

<sup>p</sup> That Alexander might have instituted some festival, and introduced some splendid and triumphal processions is very probable: that he should have marched in such disorder through an enemy's country is not to be credited. Arrian takes the ground, which Aristobulus had occupied before him. "Ἐκεῖνα γὰρ Ἀριστοβούλῳ ἐπομένῳ συνγενέσθω, θύσαι ἐν Καρμανίᾳ Ἀλεξανδρῶν Χρηστῆς τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν νίκης, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατίας ὅτι ἀποσωθῇ ἐκ Γαδρωσιῶν, καὶ ἀγωνὰ διαθεῖναι μεσιτικῶν τε καὶ γυμνικῶν." Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 28.--463.

wards set out for Macedonia, having first received their arrears of pay, a sum to defray the expences of their route, and a talent as a voluntary present.<sup>4</sup> Diodorus Siculus relates, that the veterans were discharged, had their arrears of pay liquidated, and that the rest of the army then revolted.<sup>5</sup> But their arrears of pay were first discharged, the Monarch's generosity extended not only to that part of his troops but to the whole army, and the mutiny was both discovered and put a stop to, before the veterans began their march.<sup>6</sup>

Alexander's last military exploit was the reduction of the Cossæans.—Plutarch, in general so partial to this Prince, here adopts a recital as false, as injurious, to his memory. By way of consolation on the death of Hephæstion, he pretends, that the Macedonian Monarch employed himself in hunting the Cossæans like wild beasts,

<sup>4</sup> Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--704.—Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.--491---499. Plutarch expressly states that there were also some jealousies of Alexander's indiscreet partiality for the foreigners and Persians in his service. "Παντας ἔν ἐκελευον ἀφιεναι, καὶ παντας ἀχρηστὸς νομιζεν Μακεδόνας, ἔχοντα τὰς νεκρὰς τέχας περιχίτας, συν οἷς ἐπιπὼν κατὰκτενέται τὴν οἰκουμενὴν." (Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.) And Arrian mentions some other offensive circumstances. "Πολλοὶς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀχρησθέντες, ὅτε πολλὰ καὶ ἡδὴ ἐλυπεῖ αὐτὸς ἢ, τε ἐσθλὸς ἢ Περσικὴ ἐς τὸ φέρμα καὶ τῶν ἐπιγινώσκων τῶν βαρβαρῶν τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ἦν· κοσμησὶς καὶ ἀναμαχίς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἵππων ἐς τὰς τῶν ἑταίρων τάξεις." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 8.--492.) Callines afterwards makes a formal complaint upon the subject. "Ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὰ λυπηνὰ ἐστὶ Μακεδόνας, ὅτι σὺ Περσῶν μὲν τινὰς ἡδὴ πεποιῆσαι σαυτῷ συνέσεις, καὶ καλεῖται Περσῶν συνέσεις Ἀλεξάνδρῃ, καὶ φιλεῖσι σὲ· Μακεδόνων δὲ ὅπως τις γένοιται ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 11.--501.

<sup>5</sup> Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--246.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 5.--485, 486.

beasts, and in the total destruction of that nation, which was slaughtered indiscriminately, and without any distinction of age or sex. Arrian and Diodorus Siculus have suppressed this savage expedition, and for the honour of humanity, it is to be hoped, that it was never realized.

The scripture represents the Conqueror of Darius as coming from the West, and sweeping over the surface of the earth with a velocity, that excluded the possibility of touching<sup>w</sup> it. Nothing indeed is more astonishing than the rapid marches of the Macedonian Monarch, and, in the words of Montesquieu,<sup>x</sup> “the Empire of the world seemed to be rather the prize of an Olympian race, than the fruit of a great victory.”<sup>y</sup>

Yet it may be questioned, if Alexander’s historians have not sometimes lengthened his marches, and if their accounts are to be received with implicit and unlimited authority. Some observations on the measures, which were employed, may close with propriety the present section; and a comparison of the marches of Alexander with those of the ten thousand Greeks may possibly

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elucidate

<sup>i</sup> “Τα δὲ πένθες παρηγορία τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενοι, ὡς περ ἐπὶ θηζαν καὶ κεννηγεσίαν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηλθεν, καὶ τὸ Κοσσαιὸν ἐθνὸν κατέστρεφετο, πάντας ἡβήδων ἀποσφατίνων.” Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

<sup>w</sup> “Καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπτόμενῃ τῆς γῆς.” Daniel. C. 8. V. 5.

<sup>x</sup> “Vous croyez voir l’empire de l’univers le prix de la course comme dans les jeux de la Grèce, que le prix de la victoire.” Montesquieu. De l’Esprit des Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1.--197, 198.

<sup>y</sup> Nugent’s Translation. Book 10. Chap. 14. Vol. 1.--212.

elucidate the subject. The ancients undoubtedly employed stadia of unequal distances, and many learned men<sup>2</sup> have laboured to ascertain their different extent. De l'Isle appears to have ascertained with the greatest success those referred to by the writers of the life of Alexander, and to have proved with accuracy their real length. The difference of longitude between Ecbatana and Aria, according to the Oriental astronomers, was eleven degrees and twenty minutes, which are equal to eight degrees and fifty-seven minutes of a great circle, allowing for the diminution of the degrees of longitude of the parallel of these two cities, and it varies materially from the measure of ten thousand two hundred and ninety stadia, which amount to fourteen degrees according to the calculation of Eratosthenes, and more than twenty on that of Ptolemy. This single difference leads us to conclude, that the stadia employed by Alexander's engineers were much shorter than those of the later geographers. Aristotle's computation of the measure of the earth furnishes a convincing proof of this circumstance, for he reckons the distance of ten thousand two hundred and ninety stadia between Ecbatana and Aria to be equal to nine degrees and sixteen minutes of a great circle, which only differ nineteen minutes, or three hundred and fifty stadia, from the calculation of the Oriental astronomers, and they may be easily allowed for the curvature of the roads.<sup>a</sup>

Monsieur

<sup>2</sup> See the *Memoirs de Guill. de l'Isle. Academie des Sciences. 1714.*—*Essai sur les Mesures Itin. Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 19.*—*Observations sur les Mesures Itin. par Gibert. Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 19.*—And *Traite des Mesures Itin. par D'Anville.*

<sup>a</sup> *Recherch. Geograph. sur l'Etendue de l'Empire d'Alexandre. par Monf. Buache. Acad. des Sciences. 1731.—117—121.*



Monsieur d' Anville <sup>b</sup> hath illustrated the marches of the Macedonian army, and lopped off many difficulties, by fixing the stadium of Alexander's engineers at fifty toises, which has every appearance of probability. Five hundred of the Macedonian cavalry, carrying each a foot soldier, marched, according to Arrian, four hundred stadia in a night. <sup>c</sup> Employing the Pythian stadium of one hundred and twenty-five toises, this detachment of cavalry must have marched twenty leagues, which could not have been possible. Alluding to the stadium of fifty toises, the march is reduced at once to eight leagues, and becomes in consequence, not only possible, but probable.

The Macedonians, in the pursuit of Satibarzanes, marched in two days six hundred stadia, <sup>d</sup> amounting to thirty leagues, on the ordinary calculation. By that computation they must have marched each day fifteen leagues instead of six, which the lesser stadium only produces.

Alexander, in his march to Marcanda for the purpose of attacking Spitamenes, traversed one thousand five hundred stadia in  
three

<sup>b</sup> Traite sur les Mesures Itin. 84. The Fractions are omitted.

<sup>c</sup> The French expression is "Dans une partie d'un jour et nuit entiere." Arrian says that Alexander began his march in the evening, and surprised the enemy at the dawn of the next day, and I have not on that account adhered so closely to the French sentence. "Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ δειλην πλὴν ἀρχαίαν, δρομῶν ἡγεῖτο· διελθὼν δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς σταδίων, ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὑπο τὴν ἑω πρὸς συγχάνει τοῖς βαρβαροῖς ἀτακτῶς ἰεσι καὶ ἀνοπλοῖς." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 21.--232.

<sup>d</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3, C. 25.--242.

three ° days. The Pythian stadium makes up a distance of seventy-five leagues, which are reduced to thirty by the stadium of fifty toises. The Macedonian soldiers being very robust and accustomed to laborious service, might in all likelihood by a forced march traverse ten leagues each day, since the Roman legions in their exercises marched often twenty-four miles or eight leagues in a day, as we learn from Vegetius, who wrote in the decline of the Roman discipline. †

A comparison also of the marches of the younger Cyrus and the ten thousand Greeks, so faithfully described by Xenophon, with those of the Macedonian Monarch, will again demonstrate the practicability of those immediately before us.

The troops of the younger Cyrus, in their route to Cunaxa, marched generally five parasangs § before they halted, and sometimes

° Arrian. *Exped. Alex.* Lib. 4. C. 6.--272.

† "Præterea et vetus consuetudo permanfit, et divi Augusti atque Hadriani constitutionibus præcavetur, ut ter in mense, tam equites quam pedites, educantur ambulatum; hoc enim verbo, hoc exercitii genus nominant. Decem millia passuum armati instructique omnibus telis pedites, militari gradu ire, ac redire jubebantur in castra." Vegetius. Lib. 1. C. 27.--25. 8<sup>vo</sup> Vefal. 1670.

§ I am under some embarrassment for a term that exactly corresponds with the Σταδμῶν, and I know of no single word in the English language, that fully meets the Greek idea. The Baron de St. Croix renders it by "Campement," because the troops, where they stopped, generally formed a species of temporary encampment, and Q. Curtius makes use of the same expression. "Nonis castris in regionem Arabitarum, inde totidem diebus in Gedrosiam perventum est." (Lib. 9.C. 10. Tom. 2.-737.) Raphelius, the editor of Arrian, observes "Σταδμῶν ab ἱσημι στο, est iter unius dici, quippe

times more, particularly when they crossed Lydia for the Meander, where they only made three halts in a march of twenty-two<sup>h</sup> parasengs, reckoning seven parasengs and a third, before each halt. The same body of troops arriving at Iconium, a city of Phrygia, marched also twenty parasengs with only three<sup>i</sup> halts, and directing their route to the left of the Euphrates, they even marched thirty-five parasengs with only five<sup>k</sup> halts.

The marches of the ten thousand Greeks, in their retreat after the battle of Cunaxa, differ little from those, which they went through, under the orders of the younger Cyrus. Sometimes they were shorter on account of the difficulty of the roads, but at others, they were very long, as they marched thirty parasengs with only five halts, in the territories of the Taochians;<sup>l</sup> and when they crossed the country of the Chalybians, who hung upon their rear, and continually harraffed them, even fifty parasengs were passed with only seven halts.<sup>m</sup>

Xenophon,

quippe quo confecto agmen subsistit, ut fatigata corpora quiete leventur." (Ad Σταθμὸν τρεῖς. Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 2.--12.) I am not satisfied, I confess, with the expression that I have introduced, but I yet flatter myself its meaning is not widely different. Hesychius and Suidas have defined the "Σταθμὸς, στρατιωτικὴ καταλυσις," which is substantially the same.

<sup>h</sup> Xenophon. Exped. Cyri. Lib. 1.--9.

<sup>i</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ Lib. 1.--17.

<sup>k</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ Lib. 1.--45.

<sup>l</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ Lib. 4.--328, 329.

<sup>m</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ Lib. 4.--334.

Xenophon, according to Mons<sup>r</sup> d'Anville, alludes to a paraseng of two thousand two hundred and sixty-eight <sup>a</sup> toises, which exclusive of a fraction, amount to forty-five stadia. The ten thousand Greeks marched therefore before their halts, two hundred and twenty-six, two hundred and seventy-two, three hundred and seventeen, and even sometimes, three hundred and seventy stadia, and consequently their marches equalled the longest of the Macedonian army. There is even reason to believe, that the ten thousand Greeks marched beyond many of these usual halts, in a day; and the Greek term, which Xenophon makes use of, does not signify any given space which the troops marched in a day, but simply the repose allotted to them after having marched a certain distance. Diodorus Siculus relates, that Demetrius the son of Antigone having received intelligence that Ptolemy had invaded the island of Cyprus, and made an irruption into Cilicia passed twenty-four of these usual halts in six <sup>c</sup> days; and Arrian assures us, that Ptolemy in the pursuit of Bessus reached ten of them in four days.<sup>p</sup> If the ten thousand Greeks passed many of them in a day, we may reasonably conclude, that their marches surpassed those of Alexander, which were measured so exactly by Diognetus and Beton, the Prince's surveyors. Beton had particularly described them in a work, from which Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny,

<sup>a</sup> Traite sur les Mesures. Itin. 95.

<sup>c</sup> "Διέεινε γὰρ ἀπὸ Μαλλεῖ, ἐξ ἡμέρας σαθμῶν εἰκοσι καὶ τεσσαρας." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19. Tom. 2.--381.

<sup>p</sup> ♦ "Ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαρεσὶ σαθμῶν δεκα." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 29.--252.

Pliny,<sup>1</sup> borrowed very liberally.—Reflecting on the rapid marches of Ghengis Khan, and those of the Patans and Marattas,<sup>2</sup> all the marvellous in Alexander's expeditions vanishes at once, and there remains no longer any plausible pretence of attacking their possibility. “Our scepticism will not be sufficient” as Fontenelle judiciously observes, “if we doubt only of these extraordinary facts, we should doubt even if they were as extraordinary as they appear<sup>3</sup> to be.”

<sup>1</sup> See Athenæus. Lib. 10. Tom. 1.--441.—And Casaubon's Observations on the passage.

<sup>2</sup> In our times the motions of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib's cavalry have been equally rapid. Detachments of them, when they were supposed to be at a considerable distance, have instantaneously appeared, and afterwards retreated with the same celerity.

<sup>3</sup> “Ce n'est pas entendre assez bien le Pyrrhonisme, que de douter des faits extraordinaires, il faut aller jusqu'à douter qu'ils soient aussi extraordinaires qu'ils le paroissent.”——L'extrait du Mem. de M<sup>r</sup> de Lisle sur les Mes. Geograph. des Anciens. Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences. 1714.

#### END OF THE SECOND SECTION.



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### S E C T I O N. III.

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AN exact knowledge of Alexander's character can only be acquired by entering minutely into both his public and private life. The discussion will ascertain the degree of censure or approbation, that his disposition, his virtues and his vices severally merit, which will be determinate and certain, as it will be founded on the fixed and unerring rules of justice, the principle of all the virtues according to Aristotle,<sup>a</sup> or at least including them. It is not in the power of caprice to abrogate her laws: the most ingenious sophistry cannot obscure them. The philosopher is their interpreter, and there is an appeal to his impartial tribunal from the world at large, which is frequently actuated by passions, sometimes influenced by its partialities, and sometimes warped by its prejudices.

That

<sup>a</sup> “Και δια τούτο πολλακις κρισις των αρετων ειναι δοκει η Δικαιοσυνη· η εθ’ εσπερον, εθ’ εως, ετω θαν-  
μας· η παροιμιασαζεμενοι φαμεν

Εν δε Δικαιοσυνη συλληβδην πασ’ αρετην ει.”

Theognis. 147.

“Και τελεια μαλιστα αρετη, οτι της τηλειας αρετης χησις ει.” De Moribus. Lib. 5. C. 3. Aristot. Opera. Tom. 3.--77. Folio. Paris. 1654.

That intellectual and internal virtue, without which the mind hath no valuable powers, and man is incapable either of commanding or conducting himself,<sup>b</sup> is in fact but strict and essential justice. It was thus that Plato<sup>c</sup> taught, when he refuted, under the borrowed name of Socrates, the strange maxims of Thrasymachus, which, in defiance of the virtuous efforts of philosophers in every age, have been unfortunately adopted by princes either vicious in themselves, or corrupted by long and continued success. —With the latter possibly Alexander is to be classed.—By a scrupulous and careful attention to the chronological order of events, we may perceive the variations in his character and conduct, and the gradual progress of his corruption will appear as distinctly marked, as the events from which it flowed. Prosperity had a fatal influence on the Macedonian Monarch's heart, and the regular and uninterrupted series of his conquests gave birth to a crowd of vices, which were fostered by flattery, and almost justified by the uncommon baseness of his parasites and minions.

Alexander was born almost immediately after Elpines became the Athenian Archon, in the first year of the 106<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and

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the

<sup>b</sup> “Αρ'εν ποτε, ω Θρασυμαχε, ψυχη τα αυτης εργα ευ απεργαστει, γερομενη της οικειας αρετης; η αδυνατον; Αδυνατον” Plato. De Republicâ. Lib. 1. Platonis Opera. Tom. 2.--353. Folio. Paris. 1578.

<sup>c</sup> “Φημι γαρ εγω ειναι το δικαιον εκ αλλο τι η το τε κρηττον ου ξυμφορον.” Plato. De Republicâ. Lib. 1. Platonis Opera. Tom. 2.--338.

the certainty of the fact is demonstrated by the cotemporary occurrences, which Plutarch mentions.<sup>d</sup>

Philip did not overlook any thing necessary for his Son, and gave him an education every way suitable to his birth and station. Leonides, a relation of Olympias, whose rigid austerity of morals was remarkable and well known, directed the education of the young Prince, but Lyfimachus the Acarnanian was appointed his preceptor, and he found out the method of captivating both the Father and the Son by the grossest adulation. He gave the name of Achilles to his Royal pupil, that of Peleus to Philip, and had the assurance to apply that of Phœnix to himself.<sup>e</sup> We may rest assured that the young Prince's mind suffered under such a tutor, and it may be reasonably presumed, that the seeds of those vices were then sown in it, which in maturer life grew up, and threw a sickly shade over the splendid actions, from which he would otherwise

<sup>d</sup> “Εγενθη δε εν Αλεξανδρῳ ἰσάμενος μιν Ἑκατομβαιῶν, ὃν Μακεδόνες ἄνων καλοῦσιν, ἔκτη καθ’ ἣν ἡμερὰν ὁ τῆς Εὐφροσύνης Ἀρτεμιδῶς ἐνεπύρησθη νεὺς.—Φίλιππῳ δὲ ἀρετὴ Ποτιδαίαν ἡγήκοι τρεῖς ἢ κόν ἀγέλιαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον· ἡ μὲν, Ἰλλυρίης ἡττάσθαι μάχῃ μεγάλην διὰ Παρμενίων· ἡ δὲ, Ολυμπιασὶν ἵππῳ κελῆτι νενίκηκεναι· τριτὴ δὲ, περὶ τῆς Αλεξανδρῆς γενέσεως.” Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--665, 666.

<sup>e</sup> If we are to believe Plutarch, he had no other merit. “Ἄλλο μὲν ἔδεν εἶχων ἀρετὴν, ὅτι δ’ αὖθις μὲν ὀνομάζεν Φοῖνικα, τοῖς δὲ Αλεξανδρῶν, Ἀχιλλεῖα, Πηλεῖα δὲ, τὸν Φίλιππον, πᾶσι πατο, καὶ δευτέρῳ εἶχε χῶρεαν.” (De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--667.) The rays of Royal bounty have been frequently directed on worthless and improper objects; but history scarcely furnishes another instance of a Favourite, that rose into employment on such pretensions.

wife have derived such immortal honour. Quintilian<sup>f</sup> unjustly accuses Leonides, on the faith of Diogenes of Babylon, with the corruption of Alexander's mind; but he confounds the respectable Leonides with Lysimachus, and improperly terms him the pedagogue. Leonides had constantly refused the office of preceptor, as we learn from Plutarch, whose expression<sup>g</sup> may have deceived the learned Rhetorician, and occasioned his reference of the lectures of Lysimachus to Leonides, which undoubtedly obstructed Aristotle's more virtuous system. This great man was called by Philip to give lessons to his Son, under the magistracy of Pythodotus, in the second year of the 109<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and the Monarch warmly exhorted him to attend to the instructions of such an able master, with the forcible admonition of avoiding, from his counsels, the errors of which he seriously repented.<sup>h</sup> —Memorable words! which truth hath sometimes forced from the lips of princes and of kings, in those last and awful moments of existence, when pride and vanity sink into humiliation, and flattery itself, having no longer any hopes, is silent.

### Alexander

<sup>f</sup> "Leonides Alexandri pedagogus, ut a Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibusdam eum vitiis imbut, quæ robustum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illâ institutione puerili sunt profecuta."

Quint. Inst. Orat. Lib. 1. C. 1.--7. Ed. Gefner. 4<sup>to</sup> Gotting. 1738.

<sup>g</sup> Some of the editors of Plutarch read "Αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφευγον τὸ τῆς Παιδαγωγίας ὄνομα," but the "Μὲν ἐν φευγῶν" of the Francfort edition, Folio, 1620, appears to be the true reading.

De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--667.

<sup>h</sup> "Ἐκείλευσε δ' αὐτὸν Ἀγιστοτελεῖ προσερχεῖν, καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν, ὅπως (εἴη) μὴ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πράξης ἐφ' οἷς ἐγὼ πεπεσχημένοις μεταμέλομαι." Apothegm. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--178.

Alexander was then in his thirteenth year, and not the fifteenth, as Diogenes Laertius hath supposed, <sup>i</sup> who prolongs by his calculation the life of Alexander somewhat above two years. The Son of Philip was initiated into all the sciences, and ran through the circle of human knowledge under Aristotle's care. After a residence of eight years <sup>k</sup> at the court of Macedon, which Justin hath reduced to five, <sup>l</sup> the philosopher retiring to Athens, when Evenætus was Archon, parted with his Royal pupil to meet no more, though he survived him some years. <sup>m</sup>

In all probability the young Prince, agreeable to Plutarch's opinion,

<sup>i</sup> “Επι Πυθοδοτε δ' ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Φιλίππον, τῷ δευτέρῳ εἴτῃ τῆς ἐνατῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδου, Ἀλεξάνδρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῇ ἡδὴ γεγενητόν.” Diog. Laert. Lib. 5. Segm. 10. Tom. 1.--274. Ed. Meibomii. 4<sup>to</sup> Amst. 1709.

<sup>k</sup> “Après avoir demeuré à la cour de Macedoine pendant dix-huit années.” “Πρὸς Φιλίππον ἤρχετο, κατὰ Πυθοδοτὸν Ἀρχόντα, καὶ διετέλει χρόνον οκτὰ ἐτῇ παρὰ αὐτῷ καθηγεμένον Ἀλεξάνδρου.” (Dion. Halicar. Epist. ad Amm. Tom. 6.--728.) These eight years are unaccountably magnified into eighteen.

<sup>l</sup> “Exactâ pueritiâ, per quinquennium sub Aristotele doctore inclyto omnium philosophorum, crevit.” (Justin. Lib. 12. C. 16.--346.) Diogenes Laertius also supposes Aristotle to have resided eight years at the Court of Macedon, as he came there in the second year of the 109<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and quitted it, “Εἰς δ' Ἀθῆνας ἀφικεσθαι τῷ δευτέρῳ εἴτῃ τῆς ἑνδεκατῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδου.” Diog. Laert. Lib. 5. Segm. 10. Tom. 1.--274.

<sup>m</sup> “Le philosophe ne revit plus son disciple, et lui survêcut peu de tems.” The Baron de St. Croix observes, in a note upon this passage, “Denys d'Halicarnasse——fait mourir ce philosophe sous l'Archonte Cephisodore la treizieme année après sa retraite de la cour de Macedoine.” I trust the “Τῷ δὲ τρισκαίδεκατῷ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ΘΑΛΕΥΤΗΝ, ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρῃ Ἀρχόντῃ, ἀπείργας εἰς Χαλκίδα, νοσῶ τελευτᾶ, τρεῖς πρὸς ἑξήκοντα βιωσας ἐτη” (Dion. Hal. Epist. ad Amm. Tom. 6.--728.) will warrant the deviation, for which I am responsible.



opinion,<sup>n</sup> received lectures in politics and in morality from Aristotle, and was also introduced into the profound sanctuary of the Acroatic and Epoptic<sup>o</sup> doctrines, where persons were not usually allowed to penetrate. The Greek historian produces, as a proof of his opinion, a letter<sup>p</sup> written by Alexander to Aristotle, in which he laments the publication of his Acroatic works<sup>q</sup> with a jealousy, unworthy of a person of any genius, and more particularly a Sovereign. Can we possibly believe that the philosopher stooped to the meanness of assuring him, that the work in question would not be understood, except by a few adepts,<sup>r</sup> and that he

<sup>n</sup> “Εοικεν δε Αλεξανδρῷ εἰ μόνον τὸν ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν παραλαβεῖν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρητῶν καὶ βαρυτέρων διδασκαλιῶν, ὥς οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροαματικὰς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς πρὸς ἀγορεύοντες, καὶ ἐξέφερον εἰς πολλὰς, μετασχεῖν.” Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

<sup>o</sup> The mysterious language of initiation, hath been extremely well explained by Salmaſius, in his notes added to the commentary of Simplicius, upon Epictetus. 14.

<sup>p</sup> The following is supposed to have been the laconic epistle.

“ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ·

Οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας, ἐκδὼς τὰς ἀκροαματικὰς τῶν λόγων· τινὶ γὰρ ὅτι δίδιοισμέν ἡμεῖς τῶν ἀλλῶν, εἰ καὶ ὅς ἐπαιδευθῆμεν λόγους, ὅτιοι πάντων εἰσὶν οἱ κοῖνοι; ἐγὼ δὲ βυβλομένην αὖ τὰς περὶ τὰ ἀριστα ἐμπειρίας, ἡ τὰς δυναμεισι διαφερεῖν· ἐρρωσο” Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

<sup>q</sup> Salmaſius hath diſcuſſed with great learning, the Acroatic and Epoptic doctrines in the notes on Simplicius juſt referred to; (226—244.) and the editors of the new Deux-ponts edition of Aristotle in 8<sup>vo</sup> have very ingeniouſly given an epitome of them, which may be conſulted with advantage.

<sup>r</sup> “Τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτὴ παραμυθούμενον Ἀριſτοτέλης, ἀπολογεῖται περὶ τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων, ὥς ἐκδιδόμενων καὶ μὴ ἐκδιδόμενων· ἀληθῶς γὰρ, ἢ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ πραγματεῖα, πρὸς διδασκαλικὴν καὶ μαθήσιν ἡδὲν εἰχέσασα χρεσίσμων, ὑποδείγμα—τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς γεγραπται.” (Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.) Aulus Gellius hath preſerved the ſuppoſed concise answer, of the Peripatetic philoſopher, in which, as he remarks, there is the ſame “Brevitatis elegantiffimæ ſilus tenuiſſimus.”

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he might be therefore easy on the subject. An answer of this kind would sink Aristotle in the general esteem, and some justice is due to his injured reputation. In the dedication of his rhetoric to his Royal pupil,<sup>a</sup> he mentions the Prince's request that he would not communicate the work to any other person, as he wished alone to enjoy the advantage of it. The philosopher, in reply, informs the Prince, that authors had a sort of parental fondness for their works, and were not like the sophists, who seldom were at the trouble of any compositions, and satisfied themselves with the stipends from their scholars, whom they quitted without regret, and for whom they had no attachments. Aristotle concludes with an exhortation to Alexander to guard the precepts which were not sullied by venality, and would contribute to his future happiness and honour, whilst in their turn they would derive no inconsiderable share of lustre from his patronage. The philosopher thus artfully insinuates, that from a parental species of regard for his works, he took a pride in their publication, and that, exclusive of such motives, it was a duty, which he owed to his disciples. In the end, he hints to the Prince with great address, that he ought rather to profit by such useful and disinterested maxims, than envy the public in general a knowledge of them. To

often

“ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ ”

Εγχαψας μοι περι των ακροατικων λογων, οιομεν<sup>Θ</sup> δειν αυτες φυλαττειν εν απορρητοις· ισθι εν αυτες κ<sup>η</sup> εκδιδομενες, κ<sup>η</sup> μη εκδιδομενες· ξυνετοι γαρ εισι μονοις τοις ημων ακησασιν\* ερρωσο.” Aul. Gell. Lib. 20. C. 5.--877. Edit. Gronov. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1709.

<sup>a</sup> “ Εγχαψας δε μοι διακελειομεν<sup>Θ</sup> οπως μηδεις των λοιπων ανθρωπων ληψιται τον βιβλιον τ<sup>ο</sup>το ”

Rhet. Aristot. Opera. Tom. 3.--833.

soften the unpleasant part of the reply, he adds the compliment of supposing the Prince's notice of the precepts would be a strong recommendation in their favour, and that their reputation would be fully established by the honour of his adoption of them. Instead of approving of the little jealousy and self-interested views of Alexander, the master of the Lyceum excited his pupil to more generous actions, and encouraged him to diffuse, as far as he was able, the knowledge with which he was acquainted. Addressing also his treatise of the world to Alexander, this great man added, "I consider it as highly glorious in you, who are one of the greatest of Monarchs, to turn your mind to the study of those sublime truths, which history and philosophy present to you, and to encourage the great men of your court to excel in all those things, wherein you have so peculiarly distinguished yourself!"<sup>w</sup>

We may reasonably conceive Aristotle's answer was conveyed in terms of the same generous import, instead of the outrage to his memory, which hath been transmitted to posterity. But this imaginary letter, and those also at the end of his works, in which he exhorts Alexander to govern his subjects with lenity, and to distinguish himself by his virtues, are certainly of very dubious authority.

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The

<sup>e</sup> "Ὅπως νεοὶ καθεστότες ὑπο μηδενὸν χεῖμασι διαφθαρησόντι· κοσμίως δὲ μετὰ σὲ συμβαλόντες εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθόντες." (Rhet. ad Alex. Aristot. Opera, Tom. 3.—833.) Advice worthy of the sage who dictated it.

<sup>w</sup> "Πρὸς τὸν δὲ οἶμαι γὰρ σοὶ ἡγεμονῶν ὄντι ἀριζῶ, τὴν τῶν μεγίστων ἰσορίαν μετιέναι, φιλοσοφία τε μηδὲν μικρὸν ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταύτης δόξοις δεξιμεσθαι τὴς ἀρίστες." De Mundo. C. 1. Aristot. Opera, Tom. 1.—846.

The author of the treatise on elocution, falsely attributed to Demetrius Phalereus,<sup>x</sup> seems to intimate, that Aristotle's letters were written in a superior style, and resembled dialogues and dissertations. That, at present under consideration, hath no characteristic of this kind either in form or matter, and as Artemon had made a collection of them, which the rhetorician alludes to, if this pretended letter of the Peripatetic philosopher had been of the number, there can be no doubt, but he would have expressed himself very differently concerning them.—Some later Sophist, having read the preface to Alexander's rhetoric, perhaps fabricated both Alexander's letter, which is at present the subject of observation, and the answer to it. The writers of Pergamus and of Alexandria are well known to have been the authors of various works, which they passed upon the public as productions of the Ancients,<sup>y</sup> and it is very probable, that Andronicus Rhodius, of the Peripatetic sect, who lived in the 180<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and about 60 years before Christ, selected from them these forged letters of Alexander and his ancient master,<sup>z</sup> which were afterwards hastily adopted by Aulus Gellius, and Plutarch. Alexander's letter indeed, as it corresponds with the general tenour of Aristotle's

<sup>x</sup> "Ἀρτεμίων μιν ἐν, ὃ τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους ἀναγραφὰς ἐπιστολάς φησιν, ὅτι δεῖ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρεῖσι, διαλογοῦν τε γράφειν καὶ ἐπιστολάς· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, οἷον τὸ ἔτερον μερὸς τῆς διαλογῆς." Demet. Phalereus. Scđ. 231.

<sup>y</sup> Galen. De Hippocrat. Nat. Hom.

<sup>z</sup> "Exempla utrarumque literarum, sumpta ex Andronici philosophi libro subdidi." Aulus Gellius, Lib. 20. C. 5.--877.

Aristotle's expressions, may be allowed, though forged, to contain the Macedonian Monarch's sentiments; but his virtuous Preceptor had never disgraced himself by any prostitution of his principles, notwithstanding the shameful accusations of Tertullian.<sup>a</sup>

The illustrious philosopher inspired his disciple with a strong partiality for Homer, whose beauties he explained to him, whilst at the same time he enlarged upon the morality, which lent new charms to the harmony of verse.<sup>b</sup> Alexander retained the whole Iliad by memory, and a great part of the Odyssey, and frequently repeated different passages from these two poems.<sup>c</sup> He shewed also his discernment in the preference, which he gave as a Sovereign to Homer, in comparison of Hesiod, whose works he thought more particularly calculated for pastoral and rural life.<sup>d</sup> Under Alexander's pillow not only the Iliad of Homer was discovered, but even the Eunides of Cratinus,<sup>e</sup> a celebrated comic poet.

C c 2

Harpalus

<sup>a</sup> "Aristoteles tam indecore Alexandro regendo potius adulatur, quam Plato Dionysio ventris gratiâ venditatur." (Tertullian. Apologet. C. 46.--393. Ed. L. B. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1718.) The Baron de St. Croix observes that Tertullian, in his apology for Christianity, hath tried, condemned, and executed all the great men of antiquity.—The African Presbyter had certainly some of the fire of the climate in his constitution, and his zeal may have carried him farther than might be wished; but allowances are to be made for the times, in which he wrote, and the persecutions, under which the Christian church was then smarting.

<sup>b</sup> Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 11. De Regno passim.

<sup>c</sup> Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 4. De Regno.—Dialog. Mortuorum. 12. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1. --384.

<sup>d</sup> Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 11. De Regno.

<sup>e</sup> Ptolem. Hephæstion. Apud Hist. Poet. Scriptores. 326.



Harpalus had also a commission from the young Prince to send him the works of Philistus, the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, and the Dithyrambic works of Telestis and Philoxenus, Books being very scarce in the southern provinces of Greece.<sup>f</sup>

The Macedonian Monarch took great pleasure in tragical representations, and Athenodorus, in his presence, disputed with Theffalus the superiority of their theatrical talents. The latter having been the unsuccessful candidate for popular applause, the young Prince endeavoured to console him, and paid him the flattering compliment, that he would rather have lost a part of his dominions, than Theffalus should have been worsted.<sup>g</sup> As far as we can judge from a circumstance related by Athenæus, Alexander had not the same relish for comedy. Antiphanes, a comic writer of eminence, reading one day to him one of his pieces, and observing that the Prince was very inattentive to it, took the liberty of telling him, “that to enter into the spirit of such performances, a little acquaintance with comic life was necessary, and that he would have enjoyed their beauties, if he had often formed one of those parties, where a free currency of witticisms passed without restraint.”<sup>h</sup> Yet this want of taste for comedy had no effect on his usual

<sup>f</sup> “Των δὲ ἄλλων βιβλίων ἐκ εὐπηρεῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνω τοποῖς, Ἀρπαλὸν ἐκέλευσε περιφέρειν· κακὸν δὲ ἐπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὰς τε Φιλίστου βίβλους, καὶ τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Αἰσχύλου τραγῳδιῶν συγχύας, καὶ Τελεστῆς καὶ Φιλόξενου διθύραμβους.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

<sup>g</sup> “Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηνοδόρου, Ἐβηλομένην αὐτὸν εἶπε, μάλλον ἀπολωλεῖν μέρος τῆς βασιλείας, ἢ Θετταλὸν ἐπιδιδόναι ἡττημένον.” De Fort. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--334.

<sup>h</sup> “Δὲν γὰρ εἶπεν, ὡ βασιλεῦ, τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδεχόμενον ἀπὸ συμβολῶν τε πολλῶν δέδειπνῆκεναι· καὶ  
ὥς

usual liberality, and Lycon of Scarphia, having artfully interwoven in one of his pieces some verses, in expectation of a gratuity, Alexander with a smile at his address, ordered him ten talents.<sup>i</sup> This generosity notwithstanding ought to have had its bounds, and should not have been showered down with the profusion upon Chærilus, which Horace hath censured, though he seems to have exaggerated the anecdote.<sup>k</sup>—The agreement, which the Macedonian Monarch made with him, was certainly a singular one, and Chærilus was to receive for every good verse, a piece of gold, with a box upon the ear, for every bad one; but for his consolation many modern poets, on the same terms, might have been exposed to a repetition of the punishment, without any recompence. Alexander was, however, aware of the mediocrity of Chærilus, and he frequently declared he would have preferred being the Therfites of Homer to the Achilles of his own poet.<sup>l</sup>

With

περι ἑταιρας πολυονακας κ̅ εἰληφεναι κ̅ δεδωκεναι πλεηγας” (Athenæus. Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--555.)

The mistress and the harlot made their appearance very frequently on the old comic stage, with both the Greek and Latin authors, and even the pruriencies of the British Drama were not effectually restrained at the opening of the present century. Antiphanes, from whom the anecdote is taken, was the author of no less than 260, or 365 comedies according to others. Fabricius, with persevering industry, hath given a list of them. Fabricii Biblioth. Græca. Tom. 1.--742  
—744.

<sup>i</sup> De Fort. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--334.

<sup>k</sup> “Gratus Alexandro Regi Magno fuit ille  
Chærilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis  
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.”

Horat. Epist. Lib. 1. 8.--232—234.

<sup>l</sup> “Chærilus poeta fuit, qui Alexandrum Magnum secutus, bella ejusdem descripsit: cui Alexander

With these ideas, it may be asked, how the Macedonian Monarch could have retained at his court both Chærilus, Agis of Argos,<sup>m</sup> Cleo of Sicily, and many others of the most wretched poetasters in the Grecian cities.—Their despicable abilities could not have recommended them to his protection, but having wormed themselves into favour by the basest adulation, they had corrupted his heart, without being able to seduce his understanding.—Few persons of a liberal education are ignorant of the freedom of Diogenes with Alexander, but the Prince could not help admiring the sarcastic boldness of the Cynic. Dion. Chrysostom<sup>n</sup> hath given the conversation of these two celebrated Personages, where the characters of the speakers in the dialogue are very well preserved, though we may wish the pleasantries, on Alexander's father Ammon, had been omitted,<sup>o</sup> as he did not pretend to pass for the son of this Deity before the Lybian expedition, which was long after this interview.

The Royal munificence, with which Alexander encouraged the  
labours

ander dixisse fertur, malle se Therfitem Homeri esse, quam hujus Achillem." Acro ad Horatii Art. Poet. V. 357.

<sup>m</sup> "Agis quidam Argivus pessimorum carminum post Chærilum conditor, et ex Siciliâ Cleo; hic quidem non ingenii solum, sed etiam nationis vitio adulator; et cetera urbium suarum purgamenta, quæ propinquis etiam maximorumque exercituum ducibus a rege præferebantur." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 5. Tom. 2.--594.) The Latin historian could not have divined a stronger expression than the "Purgamenta."

<sup>n</sup> Dion. Chrysost. Orat. De Regno. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Lucian hath avoided the dilemma, by laying the scene in the shades after Alexander's death. Dial. Mort. 13. Luciani Opera, Tom. 1.--389—394.

labours of Aristotle,<sup>p</sup> ought to insure him the gratitude of men of letters, but his bounty was also extended to Xenocrates. A very considerable sum was remitted to this philosopher for his immediate wants, which Plutarch fixes at fifty talents;<sup>q</sup> and for the honour of Xenocrates, the Greek historian should have added, that he only accepted of thirty minæ.—Pyrrho received of Alexander, according to Sextus Empyricus<sup>r</sup> ten thousand pieces of gold for a poem in the Conqueror's praise. This dubious fact however is refuted by the joint testimony of Aristocles and Diogenes

<sup>p</sup> “La magnificence vraiment royale, avec laquelle Alexandre encouragea les travaux d'Aristote, devoit seule lui meriter la reconnaissance des gens de lettres.” I could have wished that the Baron de St. Croix had specified some of these acts of Royal magnificence, but not one single instance is referred to. In the life of Aristotle by Ammonius, we meet with the following passage. “Ὁ δὲ γε Ἀριστοτέλης ἐσχέται ἐν τῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων πόλει, ἐνθα παιδεύει Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸ Κτίστην, καὶ μέγα μέρος γέγονε τῆς τῆς βασιλείας πολλὰ γὰρ εὐνηθῆ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ” but the only favour, I believe, on record, which he received, was that mentioned, so much to his honour by Plutarch, and conferred upon him by Philip. “Μετέπεμψατο τῶν φιλοσοφῶν τὸν ἐνδοξότατον καὶ λογιώτατον, Ἀριστοτέλην, καλὰ καὶ πρῶτοντα διδασκαλίᾳ τελευσας αὐτῷ τὴν γὰρ Σταγειρίτῳ πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀναστατον ὑπ' αὐτῆς γεγεννημένην, συνώκισε πάλιν, καὶ τὴς διαφυγοντας ἠδελευνοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκατέστησεν” (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.) Alexander's Royal munificence respecting the philosopher is therefore very problematical, and in the latter part of their lives, even every friendly intercourse seems to have vanished.

<sup>q</sup> De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

<sup>r</sup> Plutarch in his Apothegms hath notwithstanding mentioned the philosopher's refusal of the fifty talents: “Ὦς οὐκ ἐδέξατο, μὴ δεῖσθαι φησας” (Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--181.) And Diogenes Laertius relates the circumstance with the philosopher's observation: Ἀλεξάνδρῃ γεν καὶ συχρὸν ἀργυρίον ἀποσείλαντ' αὐτῷ, τρεῖς χιλίας Ἀττικὰς ἀφελὼν, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέπεμψεν, εἰπὼν ἘΚΕΙΝΩ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΩΝ ΔΕΙΝ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΑΣ ΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΙ.” Diog. Laert. Lib. 4. Segm. 8, Tom. 1.--232.

<sup>s</sup> Sextus Empyricus, adversus Grammat. Ed. Fabricii, 278.

genes Laertius,<sup>†</sup> who assure us this Sceptic philosopher neither left any work behind him, nor ever wrote any.

Dandamis and Calanus<sup>‡</sup> the celebrated Indian Gymnosophists, were also treated in a distinguished manner by the Macedonian Monarch, and the latter had very magnificent funeral obsequies bestowed on him. Callisthenes, Onesicritus, and Anaxarchus, enjoyed likewise Alexander's personal favour, and were honoured with many marks of his friendship and benevolence. Callisthenes indeed forfeited them, as will be mentioned afterwards, but Onesicritus and Anaxarchus continued to preserve their influence by the most ignominious flattery. Supposing they could not sufficiently discharge by any other method their debt of gratitude, they failed in the duties, that truth imposes upon every writer, in comparison of which every other obligation ceases.<sup>\*</sup>

The arts and sciences, when Alexander began to reign, flourished in Greece, and its tranquillity, which continued undisturbed during

<sup>†</sup> "Οἱ δ' ὅλως ἢ συνεγχεψαν, ὥσπερ κατὰ τινάς, Σωκράτης, Στίλπων, Φίλιππος, Μενέδημος Πορξων." Diog. Laert. Proœmium Segm. 16. Tom. 1.--11.—See also Ariftonic. apud Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. 718.

<sup>‡</sup> Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

<sup>\*</sup> Intellectual slavery, which fetters the freedom of the mind, is assuredly of every species of subjection, the most cruel and severe. Quintilian observes with spirit, "Nihil est periculosius acceptis beneficiis, si in omnem nos adligant servitutem," (Declam. 333.--687. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1720.) and Man must be indeed a degraded being that can accept of such services with such chains.



during the whole course of his conquests, contributed greatly towards the perfection of the public taste.<sup>y</sup> Artists of great talents in every denomination were encouraged by rewards, and the choice, which the Macedonian Monarch made of Lyfippus, Pyrgoteles, and of Apelles, is well known.<sup>z</sup> The manner in which he received Dinocrates, an eminent Macedonian architect,<sup>a</sup> proves that he found a pleasure in extending his protection to persons of abilities, though in the rejection of the architect's absurd design of cutting mount *Athos* into a Colossal statue to represent him, he discovered his own good sense and the greatness of his mind.<sup>b</sup> A weaker understanding, as Lucian<sup>c</sup> hath observed, might have been tempted by the offer, and would not have possessed perhaps sufficient

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resolution

<sup>y</sup> See upon this subject, Winkelman Hist. de l'Art. Tom. 2.—who hath entered into it with the warmth and minuteness of a connoisseur.

<sup>z</sup> “Imperator edixit, ne quis ipsum alius, quam Apelles, pingeret: quam Pyrgoteles sculperet: quam Lyfippus ex ære duceret.” Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. 7. C. 37. Tom. 2.--59, 60.

<sup>a</sup> “Dinocrates architectus pluribus modis memorabili ingenio.” (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--561.) Plutarch gives him the name of Stasirates.

<sup>b</sup> “Athon montem formavi in statuæ virilis figuram, cujus manu lævâ designavi civitatis amplissimæ mænia, dextrâ pateram, quæ exciperet omnium fluminum, quæ sunt in illo monte, aquam, ut inde in mare profunderetur. Delectatus Alexander ratione formæ statim quæsit, si essent agri circa, qui possent frumentaria ratione civitatem tueri. Cum invenisset non nisi transmarinis subvectionibus; Dinocrates inquit, attendo egregiam formæ compositionem, et eâ delector; sed animadverto, si quis deduxerit eo loci coloniam, fore ut judicium ejus vituperetur.” Vitruvius Præfat. ad Lib. 2.--17. Folio. Amst. 1649.

<sup>c</sup> “Ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ μεγάλου ψυχίας, καὶ ἀνδριαντα μείζω τοῦτον τοῦ Ἀθῶν εἰλεν αὐτὸν ἀνίστασθαι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν αἰετῶν μεμνησμένων διανοίαις· καὶ γὰρ μικρὰς εἶναι γνώμης ὑπερίδωκεν ὅτῳ παραδόξῃ τιμῇ.” Lucian, pro Imagin. Tom. 2.--489.

resolution to have despised this excessive and extraordinary honour. But a clear and correct delicacy of taste, was, in this instance, an effectual preservative against the delusions of vanity and pride. —Alexander, however, afterwards employed Dinocrates in the construction of Alexandria, and this artist both drew the plan and directed its execution.<sup>d</sup> Lucian then is in an error, when he advances, that Dinocrates lost the favour of his master by this fulsome piece of flattery, and was not afterwards consulted or employed by him.<sup>e</sup> The circumstantial detail, which Vitruvius<sup>f</sup> hath left us, of the means, which the artist made use of to introduce himself into Alexander's service, demonstrates incontestably that he was a stranger to him before this singular proposal. From his residence in the East, the corruption of the Macedonian Monarch's taste may be dated, and the multiplicity of the ornaments on the funeral pile of Hephæstion fully authorizes the observation. Persians, Macedonians, ships and boats, banners and other military trophies, were profusely introduced, and there was a strange

<sup>d</sup> "Cum Rex Alexander urbem in Ægypto constituere vellet, architectus Dinocrates cum cretam non haberet, polentaque futuræ urbis lineamenta duxisset, &c." (Val. Max. Lib. 1. C. 4.--46, 47.)

"Alexandria enim vortex omnium est civitatum : quam multa nobilitant, et magnificentia conditoris altissimi, et architecti solertia Dinocratis." Amm. Marcellinus. Lib. 22. C. 16.--371. Ed. Gron. 4<sup>to</sup> 1693.

<sup>e</sup> "Ἀλλὰ κολακά εὐθὺς ἐπιγίνης τὸν ἀνθρώπον, οὐκ ἐτ' ἡδ' ἐς τὰ ἀλλὰ ὁμοίως ἐχρητο." Lucian. Quomod. Hist. conscrib. sit. Tom. 2.--17.

<sup>f</sup> "Conspexit eum Alexander——interrogabatque quis esset : At ille, Dinocrates, inquit, architectus Macedo, qui ad te cogitationes et formas afferro dignas tuâ claritate," Vitruvius. Præfat. Lib. 2.--17.

strange and inconsistent mixture of centaurs, lions and fi-rens.<sup>g</sup> Alexander's correct judgment therefore in the arts, which Horace<sup>h</sup> hath applauded, was only strictly true before his Asiatic conquests, and Oriental luxury produced afterwards a total change in it.

Nature had not refused to the Macedonian Monarch that exquisite sensibility, which in the Grecian climate was so common. Aristotle understood too well the advantages to be derived from music in the education of his pupil, to neglect any talents of this kind, that he discovered; but the rules, which he had laid down, did not admit of all the varieties of instrumental harmony, and the flute being proscribed,<sup>i</sup> it does not appear to have been used in the Prince's company.

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<sup>g</sup> See l'Hist. de l'Academie des Inscript. &c. Tom. 31.--76. &c. &c.

<sup>h</sup> "Judicium subtile videndis artibus illud." Horat. Epist. 1.--242. Lib. 2.

<sup>i</sup> "Ουτε γαρ αυλοις εις παιδειαν ακτεον, ουτ'αλλο τεχνικον οργανον, οιον κιθαραν, καν ει τι τοιουτου ιτερον εστιν, αλλα οσα ποιησει αυτων ακροαται αγαθες, η της μουσικης παιδειας, η της αλλης\* ετι δε ουκ εστιν ο αυλος ηθικον, αλλα μαλλον οργανισικον\* ωστε προς τις τοιαιτες αυτω καιρους χρησεων, εν οις η θεωρια καθαροσιν μαλλον δυναται, η μαθησιν\* προσθωμεν δε, οτι συμβεβηκεν εν αυτιον αυτω προς παιδειαν, κ' το κωλυειν τω λωγω χρησθαι την αυλησιν\* διο καλως απεδοκιμασαν αυτα οι προτερον την χρησην εκ των νεων, κ' των ελευθερων\* ----- Επει δε των τε οργανων κ' της εργασιας αποδοκιμαζομεν την τεχνικην παιδειαν\* τεχνικην δε τιθειμεν την προς τους αγωνας (εν ταυτη γαρ ο πραττων, ου της αυτου μεταχειριζεται χαριν αρετης, αλλα της των ακουσωντων ηδονης κ' ταυτης φορτικης\*) διοπερ ου των ελευθερων κρινομεν ειναι την εργασιαν, αλλα θητικοτεραν." (Aristot. de Republicâ. Lib. 8. C. 6. Tom. 3.--611, 612.) A modern author, that I have somewhere met with, hath summed up every advantage to be reaped from music by saying it "is an elegant amusement." "It is a science however," he adds, "which employs no one useful faculty of the mind, and it often leads to company, which a gentleman would consider a disgrace, if he was not himself an Amateur." I will not say with Shakespeare that he

"-----Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils."

This conjecture may serve to explain Alexander's emotions when Timotheus played something in the Orthian<sup>k</sup> style, till then unknown, and which inflamed the Macedonian Monarch in such a manner, that he hurried to his arms. Antigenides is also said to have agitated Alexander still more violently at an entertainment, with some Harmatian measures.<sup>l</sup> Plutarch, notwithstanding, tells us, that Alexander knew perfectly how to preserve his dignity, and by no means disgraced himself with the allowance of any improper freedoms, either from musicians, or the professors of any such accomplishments.<sup>m</sup> The Greek historian undoubtedly meant to allude to the time when the Son of Philip was under the tuition of Leonides and Aristotle, as he had, some pages before, mentioned Alexander's partialities for rapsodies, and the performers on the flute and harp. Festivals were instituted in which the Con-

queror

<sup>k</sup> Suidas relates this anecdote at the word "Ὀρθιασματων," (Tom. 2.--713.) and he defines the "Ὀρθιον νομον" as follows, "Ἀνατεταμενοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ εὐτονοὶ Ὀμηροῦ

Εὐδα γὰρ ἦν οὗτε θεὰ μέγα τε δεινὸν τε,  
Ὀξυθι, Ἀχαιοῖσι"

<sup>l</sup> "Καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ, Ἀντιγениδῆ ποτε τὸν ἄρματειον αἰλῆντο νομον, ἔτις παρῆν καὶ διεφλέχθη τὸν θυμὸν ὑπο τῶν μελῶν, ὥς τοις ὀπλοῖς αἰξας, ἐπιβάλεν τὰς χεῖρας ἐγὺς παρὰκειμένοις" (De Fort. Alex. Orat. 2. Plut. Oper. Tom. 2.--335.) Suidas explains the "Ἀρματεῖον νομόν. — ἄρματειον μελόν, ἀπο ἄρματός· ὅπερ ἐποίησαν ἐφ' ἑκτορι ἐλκομένῳ ὑφ' ἄρματός· (Ἀρματεῖον. Tom. 1.--332.) Kuster very curiously adds, as a note upon this passage, "Quid fit 'Ἀρματειον μελόν pulchre explicat etymologus, quem consule." The Baron de St. Croix hath rendered the "Τὸν ἄρματειον νομον" "Ce nom Harmatien," It must be allowed to be, at least, a literal translation.

<sup>m</sup> I am apprehensive the whole of this passage is founded on a mistake. Plutarch is referred to, but Philip's ideas have been transferred to Alexander. "Καὶ τοῖς περὶ μουσικῆν, καὶ τὰ ἐγκυκ-



queror of the East offered prizes and rewards to these different performers, and on the celebration of the marriages between the Macedonians and the Persians, the most celebrated practitioners were searched after and sent for. Some played on the flute, some on the harp, others accompanied them with their voices, and those who distinguished themselves were magnificently rewarded. The crowns and garlands, which were distributed on this occasion, amounted, according to Chares, to ten thousand five hundred talents, and even the singers, the tragic and comic characters, and the figure-dancers had a share in the donations.<sup>n</sup>

The Macedonian Monarch had been a great admirer from his infancy, as may be gathered from Dexippus,<sup>o</sup> of a variety of vigorous and athletic exercises. He excelled in running,<sup>p</sup> he wrestled with Criffon,<sup>q</sup> and amused himself at the ball with Ariftonicus, to whom the Athenians erected a statue and gave the rights

λια παιδευταις ἢ πάντι τις πειρῶν τὴν ἐπιστάσαν αὐτὴ κατὰ τισιν.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--667, 668.

<sup>n</sup> “A dix mille talents.” “Οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες φησι σεφανοὶ ὑπο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τάλαντων ἦσαν μυρίων πενταχίσχιλιων” (Athenæus. Lib. 12. Tom. 1.--539.) where there is a long and entertaining account of this splendid caroufal.

<sup>o</sup> “Πάντα ἀσκήσιν ἡσκημένῳ σωματικῇ” Syncellus. 263.—Euseb. Chronic. 57.

<sup>p</sup> “Ἐλαφρῶς δὲ ὡν καὶ ποδωκῆς.” Plut. Apoth. Tom. 2.--179.

<sup>q</sup> Plutarch tells us, that this contest of the Macedonian Monarch with Criffon was in running. “Ὡς περ Κρίσων ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἀπὸ λειψῆς διαθεὼν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον.” (De Adulat. Tom. 2.--58.) See however Palmerius. Observat. in Auctor. Græc.--214.



rights and privileges of a citizen,' on account of his wonderful agility. Alexander entertained indeed such a sincere regard for him, that having perceived some likenesses between him and Palamedes, in a picture of the latter at Ephesus, where he was represented expiring in the snares of his enemies, he was affected with the tenderest concern.' The Prince seemed also to have a similar regard for the pugilist Dioxippus' before the unmerited disgrace, which he fell into. Clitomachus, one of the unfortunate inhabitants of Thebes, who survived its ruin, and gained many prizes by his performances on the lute, and in the pancratium, prevailed upon the Conqueror, from these successes, to alleviate his captivity, though it is not true as Tzetzes reports,<sup>w</sup> that Alexander rebuilt Thebes out of respect to him. These instances are sufficient to render doubtful what Plutarch relates of this Prince's aversion to the wrestlers.<sup>x</sup> Yet we may, notwithstanding, believe with this historian,

<sup>r</sup> "Αριστονικον, τον Καρυσιον τον Αλεξανδρου σφαιριστην Αθηναιοι πολιτην εποισαν δια την τεχνην κ' ανδριαντα ανεσχον" Athenæus. Lib. 1.--19.

<sup>s</sup> "Περί Αλεξανδρου το βασιλεως φησιν, ως εν Εφεσω θεασαμεν Παλαμηδην δολοφονημενον εν πινακι, εδοξυνηθη· διοτι εωκει τω δολοφονημενω Αριστονεικ' ο σφαιριστης Αλεξανδρου." Ptol. Hephæst. Hist. Poet. Script. 305, 306. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1675.

<sup>t</sup> "Dioxippus Atheniensis pugil nobilis, et ob eximiam virtutem regi pernotus et gratus;" (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 7. Tom. 2.--717, 718.) who seems to have copied the account of his fatal success from Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--237, 238.

<sup>w</sup> Chilo. 139.

<sup>x</sup> "Φαινεται δε κ' καθολα προς το των αθλητων γεν' αλλοτρι' εχων. πλειους γε τοι θεις αγωνας ε μονον τραγωδων κ' αυλητων κ' κιθαρωδων, αλλα κ' ξαψωδων, διρας τε παντοδαπης κ' ραβδομαχιας, ετε πυγμας, ετε πανκρατιε μετα τιν' σπευδης εθηκεν αθλον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--666.

torian, that it was with some reluctance he permitted the introduction of pugilism and the pancratium into the gymnastic games, in the spectacles, which he gave to his troops. This appears to be the fair and candid construction of the text of Plutarch, though the learned Monsieur Burette hath supposed, that the Macedonian Monarch "thought so little of both pugilism and the pancratium as not to give himself the trouble of allowing them a place amongst the other games, of which the public festivals were composed."<sup>y</sup> It is therefore very probable that Alexander's antipathy was only to the pugilists by profession, and those who devoted themselves to the pancratium, without any other occupation. We may easily conceive then, that in the games at Ecbatana, and in those, where the children only entered the lists,<sup>z</sup> the Conqueror might follow with less embarrassment his own inclinations; and as those games were not there very common, they might with less difficulty be varied. The Stadium or simple foot-race, and the Dolichus or long course, where children contended for the prize in Nemean, Asclepian, Ælean and Olympic games;<sup>a</sup> or even the Diaulus or double course,<sup>b</sup> in which children engaged at the Pythian

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<sup>y</sup> "Il faisoit si peu de cas du pugilat et du panrace, qu'il ne se mit jamais en peine de leur donner place parmi les autres spectacles, qui composoient ces sortes de fêtes publiques." Acad. des Inscrip. Tom. 3.--263.

<sup>z</sup> This was sometimes the case, as may be learnt from Arrian. "Παιδων γαρ αγων ην εκεινη τη ημερα γυμνικη." De Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--508.

<sup>a</sup> See an inscription found in the city of Tegara. Corfini Dissert. 4.—And his observations on it.

<sup>b</sup> The Stadium was a simple foot-race, revived by Iphitus, taking its name from its length: the Diaulus

an games, might have been preferred to the pancratium and pugilism. Alexander, previous to his departure for Asia, offered the sacrifices to Jupiter Olympius, which had been instituted by Archelaus, one of his predecessors; and both celebrated the Olympic games at Ægæ,<sup>c</sup> and also treated the public with gymnastic exercises on every remarkable occasion.

The circumstances that have been mentioned, will have thrown some little light on Alexander's education, whose private life deserves as much attention as his victories. In following the different historians of his actions there is a philosophical kind of duty, which should not be forgotten. The Son of Philip hath been called the Great, but such an epithet hath been sometimes voluntarily prostituted by the vilest adulation, and at others compulsively extorted by arrogance and tyranny. Without being overawed by the authority of a great name, let us endeavour, by a cool and candid examination of the Macedonian Monarch's pretensions,

Diaulus was a double stadium, in which they ran from the barrier to the goal, (the modern Amateur of the turf will excuse an adherence to ancient terms) and returned to the barrier; and the Dolichus was a still longer course, consisting of seven, twelve, and sometimes twenty-four stadia. (Suidas ad Δολιχόν. Tom. 1.--214.) In the two former, speed was generally successful; but in the latter, both strength and speed, and, in the language of Newmarket, bottom, were absolutely necessary. Much curious information on the subject of the Grecian games may be collected from Corfini, (Differt. Agonist.) who hath touched on almost every interesting particular that relates to them.

<sup>c</sup> "Celebra à Ægas les jeux Olympiques qui y avoient été établis par Archelaus." The Baron de St. Croix refers to Arrian, and I have almost verbally translated him. "Διὶ τῷ Ολυμπίῳ τὴν θυσιάν τινι ἀπ' Ἀρχέλαου ἐτί καθεύωσαν ἔδυσεν, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγῇ διεθήκε τὰ Ολυμπία." Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 11.--45.

tensions, to discover if he had any right to the title. Justin<sup>d</sup> reports that Alexander, before he set out for Asia put all his step-mother's relations to death, and that every individual, the brilliancy of whose talents might have raised in them any royal expectations, was included in this proscription, but there is not a vestige of this calumny in the writings of the Ancients.

The restoration of the privileges of the Grecian colonies in Asia, and the destruction of an odious Oligarchy were the first fruits of Alexander's victories.<sup>e</sup> His moderation and his justice, were in many instances undoubtedly conspicuous, but the historians may have multiplied them, and they ought not to be admitted in a group without consideration.

We are informed by Q. Curtius, that Strato having been deprived of his dominions from his attachment to Darius, the Conqueror permitted Hephæstion to dispose of the vacant diadem as he pleased.<sup>f</sup> The Favourite cast his eyes upon two young men,

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who

<sup>d</sup> "Proficiscens ad Persicum bellum, omnes novercæ suæ cognatos,-----interfecit. Sed nec suis, qui apti regno videbantur, pepercit." Justin. Lib. 11. C. 5.--265.

<sup>e</sup> "Και τας μιν ολιγαρχίας πανταχῇ καταλινεῖν ἐκέλευσε, δημοκρατίας δὲ ὅς τις ἐγκαθίσταται, καὶ τὴν νομὴν τὴν σφῶν ἑκάστοις ἀποδεναι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 18.--68.

<sup>f</sup> "Regnabat in eâ Strato, Darii opibus adjutus; sed quia deditionem magis popularium, quam suâ sponte fecerat, regno visus indignus; Hephæstionique permissum, ut quem eo fastigio e Sidoniis dignissimum arbitraretur, constitueret regem. Erant Hephæstione hospites clari inter suos juvenes, qui factâ ipsis potestate regnandi, negaverunt, quemquam patrio more in id fastigium recipi, nisi regiâ stirpe ortum. Admiratus Hephæstio magnitudinem animi spernentis, quod alii  
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who were then his guests, but they declined the honour, and recommended to him Abdolominus, descended from their ancient kings, but reduced to a state of poverty, in which he laboured for a maintenance.<sup>g</sup>

Hephæstion confirmed their choice, but Justin seems to hint that the new monarch was not of a noble extraction,<sup>h</sup> and Diodorus Siculus transports the scene to Tyre after its capture, where he supposes Balonymus<sup>i</sup> to have succeeded Strato. The latter  
historian

per ignes ferrumque peterent. Vos quidem mañti virtute, inquit, estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset, regnum fastidire quam accipere. Ceterum, date aliquem regiæ stirpis, qui meminerit, a vobis acceptum habere se regnum. At illi quum multos imminere tantæ spei cernerent, singulis amicorum Alexandri, ob nimiam regni cupiditatem, adulantes; statuunt, neminem esse potiorum quam Abdolominum quemdam, longâ quidem cognatione stirpi regiæ adnexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exiguâ colentem stipe.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 1. Tom. 1. --156—158.

<sup>g</sup> If we could suppose, with Q. Curtius, the conversation between the new Monarch and his Royal Patron to have really passed, an instructive and useful lesson might be collected from it. “Admitti eum Rex protinus jussit; diuque contemplatus, ‘corporis,’ inquit, ‘habitus famæ generis non repugnat: sed libet scire, inopiam quâ patientiâ tuleris?’ Tum ille, utinam, inquit, ‘eodem animo regnum pati possim: hæ manus sufficere desiderio meo: nihil habenti, nihil defuit.’” Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 1. Tom. 1.--160.

<sup>h</sup> “Justin pretend que ce nouveaux roi étoit d’une naissance obscure.” The Latin historian says nothing of the birth or family of Abdalonimus, and the construction, which the Baron de St. Croix hath put upon the passage, can only be inferred by implication. “Insignis præter cæteros fuit Abdalonimus, rex ab Alexandro Sidoniæ constitutus: quem Alexander, cum operam oblocare ad puteos exhauriendos, hortosque inrigandos solitus esset, misere vitam exhibentem, regem fecerat, spretis nobilibus, ne generis id, non dantis beneficium putarent.” (Lib. 11. C. 10. --282, 283.) I have lowered the force of the French expression.

<sup>i</sup> “Της μὲν Τυρίων πόλεως κατέστησε τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Βαλωναίμον.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2. --195.



historian however, deceives himself, for Azelminus then reigned instead of Strato. The author of the second dissertation on the fortune of Alexander, attributed to Plutarch,<sup>k</sup> assures us that this event happened at Paphos, which was at that time under the dominion of a vicious and tyrannical prince of the family of the Cinarides. After the tyrant had been dethroned by the Macedonian Monarch, a person of the same Royal lineage was substituted in his room, who had lived till then unnoticed, from the produce of a garden, which he cultivated. On his accession to the throne, he took the name of Alunomus, but the circumstance of Hephæstion's recommendation is wanting.—The variation and disagreement of the different historians afford a strong suspicion of the anecdote, and the silence of Arrian renders it still more dubious. As Strato, in the absence of his father Gerostratus, the king of the Aradians, who had then joined Autophrodotes with the Phœnician fleet, went to meet Alexander, and to put Aradus, Marathon, Mariamne, and the rest of his dominions under the Macedonian Monarch's protection,<sup>l</sup> the fable may be owing to his offer of obedience.

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<sup>k</sup> “Πάλιν εν Παφῳ, τῷ βασιλευντὶ αἰκε καὶ πονηρῷ φανεντὶ, ἐκβαλὼν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἕτερον ἐξ ἑ-  
 τῆς, τῷ Κινυραδῶν γένει ἤδη φθινεῖν καὶ ἀπολειπεῖν δοκεντος· ἓνα δ' ἐν ἐφάσσαν περιεῖναι πεινῆτα καὶ ἀδοξὸν ἀν-  
 δρωπὸν ἐν κηπῷ τινὶ παρημελημένως διατρεφόμενον· ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ περιφθίνοντες ἦσαν, εὗρεθὶ δὲ πρακτικῆς ἰδίας  
 ἐπαγμάτων———αἰδεῖς δὲ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐν εὐτελεῖ σινδονικῇ, βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη, καὶ προσέφυσεν ἐλα-  
 βεῖ, καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἑταίρων προσαναγορευομένων· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἄρα Ἀλυνόμῳ.” Plutarchi Opera, Tom. 2.  
 --340.

<sup>l</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 13.--144.

Most probably the same Historians have represented Alexander's conduct, in a more favourable, than correct light, respecting the Queen and mother of Darius, after the battle of Issus. The mistake which Syfigambis made, when she imagined Hephæstion to have been the king, and the answer of the Macedonian Monarch are only given by Arrian as traditions,<sup>m</sup> which were neither taken notice of by Ptolemy nor Aristobulus. Yet he does not think they were entirely destitute of probability,<sup>n</sup> and he lavishes much praise and commendation on Alexander's<sup>o</sup> virtue, which, he argues, must have been highly celebrated from the circulation of such a vague and uncertain adventure.

Monsieur de Bougainville hath amply, as well as ably vindicated the honour of Statira,<sup>p</sup> whose character and conduct had suffered and been suspected from the ambiguity and inaccuracy of Plutarch and Justin. His defence of this Princess is founded on the most sagacious observations, and the subject is handled in such a masterly manner, that it wants no additions.

The

<sup>m</sup> “Λογος δὲ εἷς.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 12.--141.

<sup>n</sup> “Και ταυτα εγω εἰς ὡς αληθην, ετε ὡς παντη απισα ανεγραψα.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 12.--141, 142.

<sup>o</sup> One of the finest eulogies upon Alexander that is to be met with in any language, may be found in Montesquieu. “Qu'est-ce que ce conquerant, qui est pleuré de tous les peuples qu'il a soumis? qu'est-ce que cet usurpateur, sur la mort duquel la famille qu'il a renversée du trône verse des larmes? C'est un trait de cette vie dont les historiens ne nous disent pas que quelque autre conquerant puisse se vanter.” De l'Esprit de Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1.--198. 4<sup>to</sup> Ed. 1767.

<sup>p</sup> Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions. Tom. 25.--37.

The Macedonian Monarch's generosity to the Royal family of Persia, which Tyriotes had related to Darius, induced him, according to Q. Curtius,<sup>7</sup> to send ambassadors to his more fortunate rival, and sue for peace. Neither Diodorus Siculus<sup>8</sup> nor Justin<sup>9</sup> have spoken of the pathetic conversation between Darius and Tyriotes, or Tyrcus, as he is called by Plutarch, though they have recorded the embassy, which had the peace of Asia for its object. All the historians, fix the time of this embassy some days after the battle of Gaugamele. Arrian states the conversation of the Persian Monarch with his Eunuch to have been soon after the battle of Issus, but he allows its certainty depended on very loose reports,<sup>1</sup> and to such reports little credit can certainly be due.

One

<sup>7</sup> "Itaque quamquam pace frustra bis petitâ, omnia in bellum consilia converterat; victus tamen continentia hostis, ad novas pacis condiciones ferendas decem legatos cognatorum principes misit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 11. Tom. 1.--249.) The affecting interview between Darius and Tyriotes is luxuriantly described in the preceding pages.

<sup>8</sup> "Πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν ἀλλῃς πρεσβείης, ἐπικινῶν μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς κεχρησθαι τῇ τε μετρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, ἀξίων δὲ φίλον γενεσθαι, καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ χώραν, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρεῖς-χιλία, καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τῇ ἑαυτῇ θυγατρὶ γυναικί." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--202.

<sup>9</sup> In itinere nuntiatur, uxorem ejus ex collisione abjecti partus decessisse, ejusque mortem illachrymatum Alexandrum, exsequiaque benigne profecutum, idque eum non amoris, sed humanitatis causâ fecisse. Nam semel tantum eam Alexandro visam esse, cum matrem filiasque ejus parvulas frequenter consolaretur. Tunc Darius se ratus vere victum, cum post prælia etiam beneficiis ab hoste superaretur, gratumque sibi esse, si vincere nequeat, quod a tali potissimum vinceretur. Scribit itaque et tertias epistolas, et gratias agit, quod nihil in suos hostile fecerat. Offert deinceps majorem partem regni usque flumen Euphraten et alteram filiam uxorem: pro reliquis captivis triginta millia talentum." Justin. Lib. 11. C. 12.--287, 288.

<sup>1</sup> "Καὶ τοίνυν καὶ λογικῶς κατεχει." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 20.--308.

One of the first politicians of our age hath admitted, that Alexander was guilty of two disgraceful actions, the burning of Persepolis, and the murder of Clitus. But Montesquieu appears to have been led into an error by Q. Curtius, who relates that the Conqueror of Asia, on the infliction of Thais and flushed with wine, at the end of an entertainment set fire to the palace of Persepolis, and that the city was entirely consumed.\*—The Latin historian hath given, however, too extensive a construction to the text of Diodorus Siculus, from which he seems to have borrowed his relation, as the Greek author merely tells us, that the environs of the palace were burnt.\* Arrian speaks only of the

\* Q. Curtius, with some introductory sentences descriptive of the Royal debauchery, gives the following detail of its destruction. "Thais et ipsa temulenta, maximam apud omnes Græcorum initurum gratiam adfirmat, si regiam Persarum jussit incendi. Expectare hoc eos, quorum urbes barbari deleffent. Ebrio scorto de tantâ re ferente sententiam, unus et alter, et ipsi mero onerati, adfentiunt. Rex quoque fuit avidior, quam patienter: quin igitur ulciscimur Græciam, et urbi faces subdimus? omnes incaluerant mero: itaque surgunt temulenti ad incendendam urbem, cui armati pepercerant. Primus rex ignem regiæ injecit; tum convivæ et ministri, pellicesque. Multa cedro ædifica erat regia: quæ celeritâ igne concepto, late fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul ab urbe tendebat, conspexit; fortuitum ratus, ad opem ferendam concurrit. Sed ut ad vestibulum regiæ ventum est, vident regem ipsum adhuc adgerentem faces. Omissâ igitur, quam portaverant, aquâ, aridam materiam in incendium jacere cæperunt. Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes ante jura petebant: patria tot regum; unicus quondam Græciæ terror; molita mille navium classem, et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata est; contabulato mari molibus, perfoffisque montibus, in quorum specus fretum immissum est. Ac ne longâ quidem ætate, quæ excidium ejus sequuta est, resurrexit. Alias habuere urbes Macedonum reges, quas nunc habent Parthi, hujus vestigium non inveniretur, nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet. Haud procul mœnibus fluxerat, inde urbem fuisse XX stadiis distantem, credunt magis, quam sciunt adcolæ." (Q. Curt. Lib. 5.--67. Tom. 1.--356, 357, 358.) The learned reader may consult Salmaſius, (Plin. Exercit. 846.) on the Araxes.

\* "Παρὸ πρὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοπὸν κατεφλέχθη." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--216.



the disaster which befel the ancient palace of the kings of Persia,<sup>y</sup> and agrees in this particular with Strabo<sup>z</sup> and Clitarchus.<sup>a</sup> Plutarch even diminishes the conflagration, and we may collect from him, that this edifice was the sole building exposed to the flames, that a part of it was only burnt, and that Alexander, recovering from his Bacchanalian phrensy, ordered the flames to be extinguished.<sup>b</sup> The ruins of this celebrated palace are still subsisting,

<sup>y</sup> Thais does not appear in Arrian's narrative to have had any share in the transaction, and the Bacchanalian riot is totally suppressed. Parmenio opposed the Macedonian Monarch's intention with arguments drawn both from honour and prudence, but in vain; and the Royal palace of Persepolis, if we are to believe this Greek historian, suffered in retaliation for the Persian ravages in Greece. "Τα βασιλεια δε τα Περσικα ενεπηρσε, Παρμενίωνῳ σωζειν συμβουλευοντῶ, τα τε αλλα κ̃ οτι η καλον αυτη κτηματα ηδη απολλυνται, κ̃ οτι εχ' ὡσαντως προσεξεσιν αυτω οἱ κατα την Ασιαν ανδρωποι, ὡς εδε αυτω εγνωκοτι κατεχειν της Ασιας αρχην, αλλ' απελθειν μονον νικωντα· ο δε, τιμωρησασθαι θελειν Περσας εφασκεν, αυθ' ὦν επι την Ἑλλαδα ελασαντες, τας τε Αθηνas κατεσκαψαν, κ̃ τα ιερα ενεπηρσαν, κ̃ οσα αλλα κακα της Ἑλλης εεργασαντο, ὑπερ τε των δικas λαβειν· Αλλ' εδ' εμοι δοκει συννω δεχασαι τετο γε Αλεξανδρον, εδε ειναι τις αυτη Περσων των παλαι τιμωρια." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 18.--224, 225.) The evidence is unexceptionable from its conclusion.

<sup>z</sup> "Ενεπηρση δε ο Αλεξανδρῶ τα εν Περσικαπολει βασιλεια, τιμωρων τοις Ἑλλησιν, οτι κακεινων ιερα κ̃ πολεις οἱ Περσαι πυρι κ̃ σιδηρῳ διαπορθησαν." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1061.

<sup>a</sup> "Οἱ δε μεγας Αλεξανδρῶ η Θαιδα ειχε μεθ' ἑαυτη την Αττικην ἑταιραν· περι ης φησι Κλειταρχῶ ὡς αιτίας γενομένης τε εμπερησθῆναι τα εν Περσικοποι βασιλεια." Athenæus. Lib. 13.--576.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch after mentioning the Bacchanalian entertainment, and the seductive appeal of Thais to Alexander's passions, adds "Αμα δε τω λογω τωτῳ κροτη κ̃ θορυβῳ γενομενη δε παρακελευσεως των ἑταιρων κ̃ φιλοτιμιας, επιστασθεις ο βασιλευς κ̃ αναπηδησας, εχων σεφανιοι κ̃ λαμπαδα πρηγεν· οἱ δε ἰπομενοι κωμῳ κ̃ βοη περιευσαντο τα βασιλεια· κ̃ των αλλων Μακεδωνων οἱ συνδανομενοι συνετρεχον μετα λαμπαδων, χειροντες· ηλπιζον γαρ οτι τοις οἰκοι προσεχοντες εσι τον νεον, κ̃ μη μελλοντας εν βαρβαροις οικειν, το πιμπραναι τα βασιλεια κ̃ διαφθειρειν· οἱ μιν ἑτω ταυτα γενεσθαι φασιν, οἱ δε απο γυνωμης· οτι δ' εν μετενοησεν ταχυ κ̃ κατασβεσαι προσεταξεν, ὁμολογεται." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--687.) The dubious anecdote of Thais was most probably adopted on the very disputable authority of Clitarchus, and the "Οἱ δε απο γυνωμης" appears to strengthen Arrian's relation.



ing,<sup>c</sup> but exclusive of this circumstance, such immense masses of stone of the astonishing thickness and strength, that Le Brun<sup>d</sup> hath described, could not have been so completely destroyed, that no remains of them were left. We may reasonably presume, that the fire, after having reduced every thing that was combustible into ashes, then gradually expired. Many writers<sup>e</sup> having adopted the opinion of Q. Curtius, it appears more necessary to exculpate Alexander, and to shew that the city of Persopolis existed ages after his death.

Diodorus Siculus speaks of a sacrifice by Peucestes, a Persian Satrap, to the Manes of Philip and of Alexander in the city of Persopolis,<sup>f</sup> some time after the death of the latter monarch; and Antiochus Epiphanes, according to the book of Maccabees,<sup>g</sup> attempted

<sup>c</sup> Mons<sup>r</sup> le Comte de Caylus, whose opinions are certainly respectable, thinks differently. See a long dissertation on the subject in the Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Tom. 29.--139.

<sup>d</sup> Voyage de Le Brun. Tom. 4. C. 52.

<sup>e</sup> Salmasius. Exercit. Plin. 226, 228.—Bochart. Geograph. Sac. Lib. 2. C. 2.—Prideaux. Connect. of the History of the old and new Testament. Book 8. Vol. 1.--397. Folio. 1718.—Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 26. Tom. 1.--710.

<sup>f</sup> “ὅς δὲ ποθ' ἦκον εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασιλεῖον, Πευκεστὴς μὲν, ὡν ταύτης τῆς χώρης Σατραπὴς καὶ ἑστᾶτη, θυσιῶν ἐπετελεσε μεγαλοπρεπῆ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μεταπεμφάμενός δὲ ἐξ ὅλης σχεδὸν τῆς Περσίδος ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς εὐωχίαν καὶ πανηγύρεϊν χρησιμῶν πλῆθος, εἰσίασε τὴν δύναμιν.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19. Tom. 2.--334.

<sup>g</sup> “Εἰσεληλυθεὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Περσέπολιν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησεν ἱεροσολεῖν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνεχεῖν· διο δὲ τῶν πλῆθον ὀρμήσαντων, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν βοήθειαν ἐτραπήσαν· καὶ συνήβη τρωπώδεντα τὸν Ἀντισχὸν ἱπποτῶν ἑχάριων, ἀσχημονα τὴν ἀναξυγὴν ποιήσασθαι.” 2. Maccab. C. 9. V. 2.

tempted to plunder its temple famous for its riches, but was repulsed by the inhabitants and put to flight, which proves both the opulence and population of the city, about 164 years before Christ, the period of this attack.—Ptolemy the astronomer, who lived under Hadrian and Antonine<sup>b</sup> reckons also Persepolis amongst the principal cities of Persia,<sup>i</sup> and Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>k</sup> speaks of it as existing with éclat, as late as in the reign of Julian.

The total destruction of this celebrated city is to be referred to the first ages of Mahometism, and its inhabitants having violated a treaty, which they had concluded with the Mussulmen, they were massacred and their city ruined. Adula-Katil-Mich afterwards completed its entire destruction,<sup>l</sup> and its remains were employed in the structure of Shiras, which was at no great distance, and was founded in the 76<sup>th</sup> year of the Hegira, under the Ommiades. This was the real epoch of the total ruin of Persepolis, called Istakhar by the Orientals, and it now only offers to the traveller a few ragged hovels in the midst of immense wrecks of its ancient glory.<sup>m</sup>—But it may be perhaps objected, that Persepolis had been

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rebuilt

<sup>b</sup> Petav. Doctrina Temp. Tom. 2.--634.

<sup>i</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 4.

<sup>k</sup> "Inter quæ Persepolis est clara." Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--407. Ed. Gronovii. 4<sup>to</sup>, L. B. 1693.

<sup>l</sup> Geograph. Turc. 488. A manuscript in the late French King's library.

<sup>m</sup> Voyage de la Bruyn. Tom. 4.--301.—See also, Voyages de Pietro della Valle, Tom. 5.--312.

rebuilt after it was burnt by Alexander. The sacrifice, however, of Peucestes was too near this supposed event, for the city to have risen from its ashes in so short a space of time. To add a more decided proof, Strabo, and Arrian tell us, that Alexander resided in this ancient capital of Persia after his Indian expedition, and mention also its flourishing state, and that it wanted only the palace of its ancient kings.<sup>a</sup> The palace of Persepolis was imagined to have been burnt 330 years before Christ, and Alexander's return to this city was 326 years before Christ, which leaves only an interval of four years, and they could not have been sufficient to have reinstated it in its former splendour.

The fame of Alexander's victories had been widely spread throughout the East, and Thalestris, the Queen of the Amazons, is said to have formed the romantic project of a journey to see him.—Q. Curtius and Justin<sup>o</sup> fix her arrival after the reduction of

<sup>a</sup> "Strabon et Arrien rapportent qu'Alexandre séjourna dans cette ancienne capital de la Perse au retour de son expedition des Indes, et ajoutent, en parlant de l'état florissant où elle trouvoit, qu'il ne manquoit à sa splendeur, que le palais de ses anciens rois." For the proof of this assertion, the Baron de St. Croix refers his reader to Strabo (Lib. 15.--501.) and Arrian, (Lib. 4. C. 30.) but after a minute examination, both personally and by proxy, I have not discovered a single sentiment in either of the books, referred to in these authors, with this import. Strabo, when he speaks of Persepolis, does not mention Alexander's return to it, after the expression "Ενεπερσε———τα εν Περσαιπολει βασιλεια;" (Lib. 15.--1061.) and Arrian does not even mention Persepolis, in the thirtieth chapter of the fourth book. There is, however, the following passage in Arrian: "Ενθεν δε ες τα βασιλεια ηει των Περσων, α δη προσθεν κατεφλεξεν αυτου." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 30.--473.) which proves that the palace, or, at least, a part of it, was still in being.

<sup>o</sup> Q. Curtius (Lib. 6, C. 5, Tom. 1.--419——423.) hath given the galant adventure at full length:

of Hyrcania ; Diodorus Siculus <sup>p</sup> after Alexander's second expedition into that country ; Plutarch <sup>q</sup> after the passage of the Iaxartes ; and Arrian introduces it amongst the events after the Indian campaign. The first three historians speak of this visit as of a fact, which had positively happened, and endeavour to assign the same motives of Thalestris for the journey. Plutarch hath preserved the names of the historians, who gave credit to this extraordinary adventure, in which, galantry according to their account, had a principal share, and they were Clitarchus, Policritus, Antigènes and <sup>r</sup> Ister. Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip of Theangela, <sup>s</sup> Hecateus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, very properly rejected it as a fable ; and as Alexander,

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though

length: Justin hath abridged it. "Hyrcaniam Mardosque subegit. Ibi ei occurrit Thalestris fivæ Minithya, Amazonum regina, cum trecentis mulieribus, viginti quinque dierum inter infestissimas gentes itinere confecto, ex rege liberos quaesitura: cujus conspectus adventusque admiratione omnibus fuit, et propter insolitum feminis habitum, et propter expetitum concubitum. Ob hoc tredecim diebus otio a rege datis, ut visa est uterum impleſſe, discessit." Lib. 12. C. 3.--308, 309.

<sup>p</sup> "Ἐπανελθόντων δ' αὐτὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰρκανίαν, ἣκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ βασιλίσσα τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, ὀνόμα μὲν Θάληστρις, βασιλεῦσα δὲ τῆς μεταξὺ τῆ Φασίδος καὶ Θερμῶνδος χώρας· ἣν δὲ τῷ τε καλλεὶ καὶ τῇ τῆ σωματικῇ εὐρίᾳ διαφερεῖσα, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοῖοις θανατοζομένη κατ' ἀνδρείαν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τῆς στρατίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Ἰρκανίας ἀπολειπομένη, μετὰ δὲ τριακοσίων Ἀμαζόνιδων κεκοσμημένων πολεμικοῖς ὅπλοις παρεκγενομένη· τῇ δὲ βασιλεῦς θανατοζομένη, τὴν παρὰ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς παρυσίας, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ τὴν Θάληστριν ἐρομένη, τινὰ χρεὶαν εἶχουσα παρῆεν, ἀπεφαινετο παίδοποιαν ἐνεκεν ἥκεν." Di. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--220.

<sup>q</sup> "Καὶ τὸν Ορεξερτὴν διαβὰς ποταμὸν, ὃν αὐτῷ ὠετο Τανναῖν εἶναι ————— ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ὃ πολλοὶ λεγούσιν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--691.

<sup>r</sup> De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--691.

<sup>s</sup> I have adopted the emendation "Theangela," suggested by Langhorn, (Plutarch's Lives. Vol. 4.--286.) on the authority of Athenæus. Φιλιππῶ Θεαγγέλεως. Lib. 6.--271.

though he mentioned in one of his letters to Antipater, the offer which the Scythian monarch made him of his daughter's hand, neither took any notice of the Amazons, nor of the Queen, they were confirmed in their opinion of its falsity.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch hath added, that Onesicritus reciting before king Lyfimachus the fourth book of his history, in which this adventure of Thalestris was included, the prince could not help laughing at its absurdity and inquiring how it happened, that he had been so long ignorant of it.<sup>2</sup>——Arrian<sup>3</sup> also assures us, that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus, nor any one respectable historian had given it his sanction. To shew that even the Amazons did not exist in Alexander's days, he reasons from the silence of Xenophon, who mentions the inhabitants of Colchis and Phasis, in his description<sup>4</sup> of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, without naming the Amazons, who were supposed to have formerly occupied that tract of country.

The

<sup>1</sup> “Και μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς εἰκὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· Ἀντιπατρὶ γὰρ ἅπαντα γράφων ἀκριβῶς, τὸν μὲν Σκυθὴν φησὶν αὐτῷ δίδοναι τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, Ἀμαζόνῳ δὲ οὐδὲ μνημονεύει.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--691.

<sup>2</sup> “Λέγεται δὲ πολλοῖς χρόνοις Ὀνησίκριτῳ ὕψρον ἡδὴ βασιλευντὶ Λυσίμαχῳ τῶν βιβλίων το τεταρτὸν ἀναγινώσκειν, ἐν ᾧ γεγράφεται περὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνῳ· τὸν ἐν Λυσίμαχον ἀτρεῖα μειδιάσαντα, Καὶ οὕτω (φανταί) τότε ἡμῶν ἐγώ.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 7.--691.

<sup>3</sup> “Ταῦτα δὲ ὅτε Ἀριστοβόλῳ, ὅτε Πτολεμαίῳ, ὅτε τῖς ἀλλῷ ἀνεγράψεν, ὅς τις ἰκάνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμηριώσεται.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506.

<sup>4</sup> “Οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι ἐν τῷ τότε σωζέσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, οὐδὲ τις πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡ Ξενοφῶν ἀνεμνησθῇ αὐτῶν, Φασισιανῶν τε μνησθεὶς καὶ Κολχῶν, καὶ ὅσα ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ Τραπεζεντῶν ὁρμώμενοι, ἡ πρὶν ἐς Τραπεζέντα κατελθεῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπηλθὼν ἐδὴν βαρβάρικα· ἵνα πρὸς καὶ ταῖς Ἀμαζόνισιν ἐντετυγχέσσαν, εἴπερ ἐν ἐτὶ ἥσαν Ἀμαζόνες.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506, 507.



The chronicle of Paros,<sup>z</sup> refers this wonderful retreat to the Archonship of Lachis, 400 years before Christ, which was 44 years previous to the birth of Alexander.

The active and martial life, to which even the Sarmatian women were devoted, gave the Scythians undoubtedly the idea of the Amazons; a fiction which the Greeks adopted, and which corresponded so much with the taste of their writers, that the histories of many of their heroes were embellished with it.<sup>a</sup> Strabo refutes with great judgment the story of Thalestris, who was supposed to have travelled from the borders of the Thermodon and the Caspian gates, which were more than six thousand stadia distant from each other. This able geographer considers every thing as fabulous, that had been circulated respecting the Amazons;<sup>b</sup> and his authority is certainly preferable to that of the learned French Academician,

<sup>z</sup> Epoch. 67.

<sup>a</sup> Monsieur Freret supposes the Greeks to have invented the fable of the Amazons. Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Tom. 21.--106.

<sup>b</sup> "Strabon refute avec raison le voyage de Thalestris qu'on pretend etre venue des bords du Thermodon jusqu'aux portes Caspiennes." "Κλειταρχῷ φησι την Θαληστριαν απο Κασπιων πυλων, κ̃ Θερμωδοντῷ ὁρμηθεισαν ελθειν προς Αλεξανδρον· εισι δ' απο Κασπιων εις Θερμωδοντα σταδιοι πλεεις εξακισχιλιων" (Strabo. Lib. 11.--771.) I have adhered to Strabo's copulative *Και*, which increases the improbability, that he criticised. The Baron de St. Croix seems to have mistaken him.

—"Περί δε των Αμαζονων τα αυτα λεγεται, κ̃ νυν, κ̃ παλαι, τετρατωδη τ'οντα, κ̃ πεισειως πορρω· Τis γαρ αν πεισεισειεν, ὅς γυναικων στρατῷ, η πολις, η εθνῷ συσαιη αν ποτε χωρις ανδρων; κ̃ ε μονον γε συσαιη, αλλα κ̃ εφοδus ποιησαι επι την αλλοτριαν——κ̃ απιςως αποφαινονται· καθ'απερ κ̃ περι Θαληστριας, ἥν Αλεξανδρω συμμιξαι φασιν εν τη Ἰρριανια, κ̃ συνενεσθαι τεκνοποιιας χαριν, δυνασευσεν των Αμαζονων· ε γαρ ὁμολογεται τωτο· αλλα των συγγραφων τωτων οντων, ὁι μαλιστα της αληθειας φροντισαντες εκ ειρηκα-

demician,<sup>c</sup> who subscribes to the vague reports of the Indians of Maragnon, and some other parts of South America, and hath attempted

σεν' ἢ δ' οἱ πιστευομενοι μαλιστα εἰδεντο μεμνηνται τῶτων' ἢ δ' οἱ εἰποντες τα αὐτα εἰρηκασι." (Strabo. Lib. 11.--770.) And Arrian gives as little credit to their existence. "Μη γενεσθαι μεν γαρ παν-τελως το γεντο τῶτων των γυναικων, ἢ πισον δοκει εμαριγε, προς τοσῶτων κ' τοιῶτων ἡμνηθεν." Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--507.

<sup>c</sup> "Je fais, que tous, ou la plupart des Indiens dé l'Amerique meridionale sont menteurs, credules, entêtes du merveilleux; mais aucun de ces peuples n'a jamais entendu parler des Amazones de Diodore de Sicile et de Justin. Cependant il etoit deja question des Amazones parmi les Indiens du centre de l'Amerique, avant que les Espagnols y eussent penetré, et il en a été mention depuis chez des peuples qui n'avoient jamais vû d'Europeens. C'est ce que prouve l'avis donné par le Cacique à Orellana et à ses gens, ainsi que les traditions rapportées par le pere d'Acuna, et par le pere Baraze. Croira-t-on que des sauvages de contrées éloignées se soient accordés à imaginer, sans aucun fondement, le meme fait; et que cette pretendue fable ait été adoptée si uniformement et si universellement à Maynas, au Para, à Cayenne, à Venezuela, parmi tant de nations, qui ne s'entendent point, et qui n'ont aucune communication." (Voyage de Condamine dans l'interieur de l'Amerique Meridionale. 111, 112.) The Baron de St. Croix observes that it was neither from Diodorus Siculus, nor Justin, nor even the Europeans, that these people received the fable of the Amazons; their own natural character, as they were declared to be "Menteurs, credules et entêtes de merveilleux," having suggested it to them; and he asks, with very forcible propriety, if the existence of the country of El Dorado is to be admitted, because the different inhabitants of Peru, Brazil, and Guiana, have believed it. The concurrence of traditions, whenever they are properly authenticated, under these circumstances, is certainly extraordinary; but two rules may perhaps be laid down, which, in a great measure, may serve for our general direction. When traditions of things, which were possible, are handed down to succeeding generations, in distant and unconnected nations, they undoubtedly carry with them an appearance of authority: where they run in a direct opposition to the known and immutable laws of nature, they can only be considered as repeated instances of weakness and credulity. Such a society as that of the Amazons, could not have subsisted without a total metamorphosis of the human species, and the annihilation of its wants and passions. To make use of Strabo's strong expression, it would be literally "ὅς κεν τις λεγοι, τὸς μὲν ἀνδρας γυναικας γινόμενες τὸς τότε, τὰς δὲ γυναικας ἀνδρας" (Lib. 11.--770.) Bryant (Analysis of Ancient Mythology. Vol. 3.--457—486.) hath blown away this historical chaff with uncommon ability, and industry: I cannot abridge his labours, without depriving them of strength, and paring off some beauty.

tempted to establish their existence. The female form is certainly too delicate to support the regular and severe labours of military service, and the two sexes, united by mutual desires and mutual wants, could not have separated without the violation of the strongest and most general laws of nature.—We are told, that Atropates, a Satrap of Media sent a hundred Amazons to Alexander, who directed them to return into their own country, and to inform their Queen that he intended paying her a visit. Arrian,<sup>d</sup> who relates the circumstance, conjectures very plausibly, that this Satrap ordered some of the Barbarian women to dress themselves like the supposed Amazons, on purpose to amuse the Macedonian Monarch, and that the episode of Thalestris was founded on this piece of pleasantry.

The conspiracy and death of Philotas, are related in the most interesting and pathetic manner by Q. Curtius, and the passage is indeed the most brilliant morsel of his work. There is a noble flow of eloquence in the speech of Philotas, and the affecting apostrophe to Parmenio, deserves the warmest admiration. “Must  
you

<sup>d</sup> “Εἰταυθα λεγουσιν ὅτι Ἀτροπατης ὁ τῆς Μηδείας σατραπῆς γυναίκας ἑκατον αὐτῷ ἔδωκε, ταύτας φασκὼν εἶναι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων· καὶ ταύτας σκευὴ ἀνδρῶν ἵππεων ἐσάλμενας, πλὴν γὰρ δὲ ὅτι περικεῖς ἀντιδόξατων ἐφορῶν, καὶ ἀντιἀσπίδων πελτάς·—————Εἰ δὲ ἵππικας δὴ τινὰς γυναίκας Ἀτροπατῆς εἰδείξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βαρβαρὲς τινὰς ἀλλὰς γυναίκας ἵππευεῖν ἡσχημέναις δοκῶ ὅτι εἰδείξεν, ἐς τὸν λεγόμενον δὴ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἐσάλμενας.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506—508.

<sup>e</sup> “Ergo, carissime pater, et propter me morieris, et mecum. Ego tibi vitam adimo, ego senectutem tuam exstinguo! Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adversantibus Diis? an ut hos ex  
me

you then, my dear father, not only die for me, but also with me? I am the unhappy wretch, that take away your life, and put a period to your old age! Why did you beget me in the displeasure of the gods? I cannot determine whether my youth be more miserable, or your grey hairs: I am snatched away in the bloom of my years, and the executioner must put an end to your days, whom the course of nature would have taken out of the way, had fortune had but a little patience."<sup>f</sup> Yet these beauties would undoubtedly have been introduced with more propriety into any other work than history, which ought only to admit the cold and correct truth, and should convince by a rational appeal to the understanding, without attempting to dazzle and seduce it by any ornaments. Stripping the narrative of its adventitious decorations, are we to collect from it, that Philotas was really guilty of the treason, with which he was accused? his defence by the Latin historian apparently proves his innocence, notwithstanding we are afterwards told, that his execution did not merit the pity and commiseration of his friends.<sup>g</sup> It may be difficult to reconcile the  
cruel

me fructus perciperes, qui te manent? Nescio, adolescentia mea miserior est, an senectus tua: ego in ipso robore ætatis eripior; tibi carnifex spiritum adimet, quem si fortuna expectare voluisset, natura reposcebat." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 10. Tom. 1.--461.

<sup>f</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius, Book 6. Vol. 1.--365, 366.

<sup>g</sup> It is fit that the Latin historian should be heard in his defence. "Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum nisi palam fontes, sine indignatione totius exercitus non potuissent damnari. Itaque anceps quæstio fuit: dum inficiatus est facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur: post confessionem, Philotas ne amicorum quidem misericordiam meruit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--472.) The confession of the charge varied the whole face of the proceedings, whether real or imaginary.

cruel indifference to his fate with the regrets of the Macedonian army, at first extremely exasperated against Philotas, and afterwards very clamorous against the authors of his punishment.<sup>b</sup> Perhaps that sort of ostentatious vanity, which in the tide of prosperity is apt to assume an offensive aspect, and irritate the vulgar, though it may be despised by the Sage, was the only crime of the unfortunate General. Death cancelled in all likelihood the failing, and the Macedonian soldiers both forgot his foibles, and recollecting his virtues sincerely bewailed his loss.

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In

<sup>b</sup> “Philotan sicut recentibus sceleris ejus vestigiis jure adfectum supplicio censuerant milites; ita postquam desierat esse, quem odissent, invidia in misericordiam vertit. Moverat et claritas juvenis; et patris ejus senectus atque orbitas. Primus Asiam aperuerat regi omnium periculorum ejus particeps; semper alterum in Acie cornu defenderat: Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus; et ipsi Alexandro tam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum non alio ministro uti mallet. Horum cogitatio subibat exercitum; seditiosæque voces referebantur ad regem.” (Q. Curtius, Lib. 7. C. 1. Tom. 2.--473, 474.) Popular clamours and prejudice, after the sacrifice of their victim, have frequently been followed by Popular regret, and the

“Virtutem incolumem odimus  
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.”

Horat. Od. 24. Lib. 3.

is verified in almost every age. Livy speaking of Manlius, gives us one instance of it. “Populum brevi, postquam periculum ab eo nullum erat, per se ipsas recordantem virtutes, desiderium ejus tenuit.” (Lib. 6. C. 20. Tom. 2.--350, 351. Edit. Drakenborch. 4<sup>to</sup> 1738.) and Corn. Nepos, in his life of Dion, supplies us with another. “Hujus de morte ut palam factum est, mirabiliter vulgi mutata est voluntas. Nam, qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitarant, eundem liberatorem patriæ tyrannique expulsores prædicabant. Sic subito misericordia odio subcefferat, ut eum suo sanguine, si possent, ab Acheronte cuperent redimere.” (Vit. Dion. C. 10.--325. Ed. 8<sup>vo</sup> L. B. 1773.) Velleius Paterculus, hath subscribed to the principle and explained the motive, “et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus.” (Lib. 2. C. 9. Tom. 1.--379. 8<sup>vo</sup> L. B. 1779.) though the seeds of the sentiment may be found, as Ruhnkenius observes, in Thucydides, (Lib. 2.--118.) and his imitator Sallust, Bell. Catil. C. 3.--35—37. 4<sup>to</sup> Amst. 1792.



In Alexander's address to his troops he accused Parmenio, according to Q. Curtius, of being an accomplice with his son, who confessed, on being put to the torture, that his father was the author of the plot, and to confirm the declaration, made a discovery of the criminal projects of Hegelochus.<sup>i</sup> Arrian and Plutarch have not left a syllable respecting the charge against Parmenio, and they are equally silent as to Hegelochus. But Diodorus Siculus, who furnished to all appearance Q. Curtius with the principal circumstance of this important accusation, assures us, that Parmenio was one of those condemned to death with his son Philotas,<sup>k</sup> and the expression may have induced Justin<sup>l</sup> to believe that he suffered with him. The error, however, was a gross one, for this great man was assassinated a little afterwards in Media, by Cleander, Sitaces and Minidas, the obsequious ministers of the Macedonian Monarch's cruelty, who suspected Parmenio to have been

<sup>i</sup> "Pater, inquit, meus Hegelochus quam familiariter usus sit, non ignoratis. Illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit: ille omnium malorum nobis causa fuit. Nam quum primum Jovis filium se salutare jussit rex, id indigne ferens ille, hunc igitur regem agnoscimus, inquit, qui Philippum dedignatur patrem? actum est de nobis, si ista perpeti possumus." (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--466, 467.) Admitting this confession to have been made, there are still doubts of its truth, for we are told in the preceding sentence, "Philotas, verone an mendacio liberare se a cruciatu voluerit, anceps conjectura est, quoniam et vera confessis, et falsa dicentibus, idem doloris finis ostenditur."—The strongest of all arguments against the use of Torture.

<sup>k</sup> "Πολλῶν δὲ ρηθέντων λόγων, οἱ Μακεδόνες κατεγνώσαν τε Φιλώτη καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν θέντων θανάτου· ἐν οἷς ὑπάρχει Παρμενίων· ὁ πρῶτος εἶναι δοκῶν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλων, τότε δὲ ὤντων, ἀλλὰ δοξάσθαι διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν Φιλώτη πεποισθῆναι τὴν ἐπιβίον." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--222.

<sup>l</sup> "Parmenio quoque senex, dignitate regi proximus, cum Philotâ filio, de utroque prius quaestionibus habitis, interficitur." Justin. Lib. 12. C. 5.--312, 313.

been deeply involved in the conspiracy of Philotas. It is possible also that Alexander acted on political principles, however opposite to those of justice, and considered the experiment to be a dangerous one, of suffering the father to survive his son.<sup>m</sup>

Both Philotas and Parmenio, if we are to rely on Justin,<sup>n</sup> were put to the torture. It is certain, that the latter at least escaped this ignominious treatment; and notwithstanding the testimony of Diodorus Siculus,<sup>o</sup> Plutarch,<sup>p</sup> and Q. Curtius,<sup>q</sup> there are doubts, if even the son was exposed to it. Ptolemy and Aristobulus,<sup>r</sup> who

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must

<sup>m</sup> “Επι Παρμενίωνα δε γαλήναι Πολυδαμαντα, ένα των έταίρων, γραμματα φεροντα παρ Αλεξανδρου προς της στρατηγης της εν Μηδία, Κλεανδρον τε, κ̃ Σιταλκην, κ̃ Μενιδην· έτοι γαρ επι της στρατίας, ής ηρχε Παρμενίων, τεταγμενοι ησαν· Και προς τούτων αποθανειν Παρμενίωνα· τυχον μεν, ότι ου πισον εδοκει ειναι Αλεξανδρω, Φιλωτα επιβουλευοντος, μη ξυμμετασχειν Παρμενίωνα τω παιδι τε βελευμεντος· τυχον δε ότι ει κ̃ μη ξυμμετεσχει, σφαλερος ηδη ην περιων Παρμενίων, τε παιδος αυτου ανηστημενου, εν τωσαυτη ων αξιωσει παρ τη αυτω Αλεξανδρω, κ̃ ες το αλλο στρατευμα μη ότι το Μακεδονικον, αλλα κ̃ των αλλων ξενων·” *Agrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 26.--243, 244.*

<sup>n</sup> *Lib. 12. C. 5.--213.*—the passage already cited.

<sup>o</sup> “Ό μεν εν Φιλωτας, βασανισθεις πρωτερον, κ̃ όμολογησας την επιβουλην, κατα το των Μακεδωνων εθος μετα των συγκαταγνωσθεντων εθνατωθη·” *Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--222.*

<sup>p</sup> “Εκ τούτων δε συλληφθεις ανεκρινετο, των έταίρων εφeszτωνταις βασανισ, Αλεξανδρου δε κατακνοντ̃· εξωθεν αυλαιας παρατεταμενης·” (*Plut. De Vit. Alex. Tom. 1.--693.*) A striking instance of Royal feeling for one, who had been a confidential friend!

<sup>q</sup> “Per ultimos deinde cruciatus, utpote damnatus, et inimicis in gratiam regis torquentibus laceratur.” *Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--465.*

<sup>r</sup> “Ού ils rapportoient seulement que Philotas avoit etè percé de traits.” *Arrian* had before mentioned some circumstances as related by Ptolemy and Aristobulus, but he drops Aristobulus, and

must have been almost spectators of the dreadful application, omit it in their memoirs, and Ptolemy speaks only of the death of Philotas, from his having been pierced with darts.

Justin<sup>1</sup> is again deceived, when he advances, that Alexander personally boasted of his own exploits at the tragic end of the entertainment, when all the laurels of the Conqueror of Darius withered. Plutarch, on the contrary, informs his readers, that the dispute arose from the recital of some verses composed by one Pranicus or Pierio, in which he had made very free with the ancient Officers, who had been unsuccessful against the Barbarians.<sup>1</sup> The Philosophical

and gives the remaining particulars only on the faith of Ptolemy. “Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λαγὺς λέγει. ——— Φίλωταν μὲν προσακοντισθῆναι πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετεσχοῖν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς.” Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 26.--243.

<sup>1</sup> “Solemni die amicos in convivium vocat. Ubi ortâ inter ebrios rerum a Philippo gestarum mentione, præferre se patri ipse, rerumque suarum magnitudinem extollere caelo tenus cæpit, adfentante majore convivarum parte. Itaque cum unus e fenibus Clitus, fiducia amicitiae regiae, cujus palmam tenebat, memoriam Philippi tueretur, laudaretque ejus res gestas, adeò regem offendit, ut telo a satellite raptο eundem in convivio trucidaverit.” Justin. Lib. 12. C. 6.--315, 316.

<sup>1</sup> “Ποτὴ δὲ νιανικὸς συρραγεντῶ, ἤδετο ποιήματα Πρανικῆ τινῶ (ὡς δὲ φασιν ἐνιοὶ Πιερίωνῶ) εἰς τοὺς στρατηγὸς πεποιημένα τὴν ἐναγχῶ ἡττήμενος ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων, ἐπ’ αἰσχυντὴ καὶ χεῖλωτι τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡδὴς ἀκρωμένων καὶ λεγείν κελουσῶν” Ὁ Κλειτῶ ἤδη μεθύων, καὶ φῦσει τραχὺς ὢν καὶ αὐθαδὴς ἠγανακτεῖ, μαλίστα φασκῶν καὶ καλῶς ἐν βασιλεῦσι καὶ πολεμίοις ὑβρίζοντας Μακεδόνας πολὺ βελτιόνας τῶν γελῶτων, εἰ καὶ δυσυχία κεκρήνται” (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--693.) “Ce recit est confirmé par celui de Quinte Curce,” concludes the French sentence. I have omitted it, because Q. Curtius neither mentions Pranicus, nor Pierio, and instead of agreeing with Plutarch, he confirms, as far as his authority hath any weight, the relation of Justin. “Solemni et tempestivo adhibetur convivio. In quo rex quum multo incaluisse mero, immodicus æstimator sui, celebrare, quæ gesserat, cæpit; gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari.” Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--568.

Philosophical historian aggravates what fell from Clitus, and endeavours to palliate the atrocity of Alexander's conduct by his provocation,\* but this will be found, from attentive observation, to have been the precise period of the change in the Macedonian Monarch's disposition.

Man often struggles to advantage with distress, and rises superior to the malignity of fortune: in more favourable moments he frequently becomes its victim. Elate with happiness and swoln with prosperity, he is no longer the master of himself; the passions rage with augmented violence; and the resolution which exerted itself under the pressure of adversity, is totally overpowered by its new and more dangerous antagonists. Alexander, at the summit of earthly grandeur, and commanding, as it were the universe, soon ceased to be distinguished by the virtues, which had acquired him the public admiration and esteem, when he had a formidable rival in Darius, and his successes depended on the uncertain fate of war, and the precarious issue of numerous battles and engagements.

The historians of the Macedonian Monarch have not sufficiently attended to this change in his character, and are rather to be considered as his apologists. To Plutarch, the objection is more particularly applicable, but the Scripture hath marked with a juster and more impartial hand the progress of his vices, and after  
having

\* De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--694. Q. Curtius (Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--568 —573.) gives a full account of the dispute, but as to the indifereet language, which Clitus repeatedly made use of, he coincides with the Greek historian.



having touched on his conquests, hath recorded the melancholy effects, which they produced upon his mind. <sup>x</sup>

Human glory, like the great luminaries of the heavens, hath its phases and eclipses: at one time it is overshadowed by a few momentary indiscretions, at another it wholly disappears, and becomes obscured by a thick mass of vices. It is the peculiar province of history, to observe minutely these various revolutions, to give a faithful description of them, and to deliver down to posterity the real characters of the great men whose actions it relates, without either lessening, or adding to their merit.

The death of Callisthenes called for the tears of Theophrastus, <sup>y</sup> and indignation of Aristotle. Alexander, cruel and vindictive, now lent a ready ear to every injurious tale or slanderous accusation, and under the pretence of the conspiracy of Hermolaus, embraced the opportunity of ruining the disciple of his ancient master. Some satirical expressions and imprudent censures, which fell in an unguarded moment from the philosopher, irritated the Macedonian Monarch, and provoked his resentment. <sup>z</sup> Ptolemy and Aristobu-

lus

<sup>x</sup> "Και ὑψώθη, καὶ ἐπῆρθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ." 1. Maccab. C. 1. 3.

<sup>y</sup> "Ut Theophrastus interitum deplorans Callisthenis, sodalis sui." Cicero. Tuscul. Quest. Lib. 3. Sect. 10. Tom. 2.--307.

<sup>z</sup> "Παρερησιασικωτερον λαλῶντα τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ μὴ πειθεμενον αὐτῷ." (Diogen. Laert. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--271. Ed. Meibom. 4<sup>to</sup> Amst. 1709.) "Gravitas viri et prompta libertas invisa erat regi, quasi solus Macedonas paratos ad tale obsequium moraretur." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 5. Tom.



lus<sup>a</sup> suppose, that Hermolaus and his accomplices had imbibed their rebellious principles from Callisthenes, whose lectures they had attended. All the other historians assure us, on the contrary, that his intimacy with Hermolaus was the sole reason for the suspicions of his loyalty, and that trivial and unfounded as they were, his enemies magnified them, by their hatred and malevolence, into proofs of guilt.<sup>b</sup> In the opinion of Q. Curtius, Callisthenes was innocent,<sup>c</sup> and his defence of Hermolaus, though it may be perhaps

Tom. 2.--596.) "Haudquaquam aulæ et adfentantium adcommodatus ingenio." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618.) "Καλλισθένης λεγών μὲν ἡν δυνάτῃ, καὶ μέγας, οὐδὲ οὐκ ἔχειν." (Aristot. apud Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.) Such was the prevailing opinion, and there remains little doubt that Callisthenes owed his ruin to the rigid austerity of his manners, and a want of that supple and accommodating habit, which, like old age, as described by Catullus,

"Omnibus omnia annuit,"

209. Ed. Vulpil. 4<sup>to</sup> 1737.

and is an essential requisite in every corrupt and luxurious Court.

<sup>a</sup> "Ἀριστοβουλὸς μὲν λέγει, ὅτι καὶ Καλλισθένην ἐπαρεῖ σφας ἐφασαν ἐς τὸ τολμήμα· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος αὐταυτὸς λέγει." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--293.

<sup>b</sup> "Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ταυτὴν λεγούσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μισοῦ γὰρ τὸ ἡδὺν ὄν πρὸς Καλλισθένην ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἑρμολάος ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἐπιτηδεύῃ ἡν τῷ Καλλισθένει, καὶ χαλεπῶς πείνεται τὰ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ Καλλισθένης Ἀλεξάνδρον· ἡδὲ καὶ τινες καὶ τὰ ἀνεγχεῖν τὸν Ἑρμολάον προαχθέντα ἐς τῆς Μακεδόνος ὁμολογεῖν τὴν ἐπιβαλεῖσθαι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--293.

<sup>c</sup> "Initi confilii in caput regis innoxius: (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618.) but he admits that the philosopher lent a ready ear to some improper censures of his Sovereign. "Callisthenes non ut participem facinoris nominatum esse, constabat; sed solitum puerorum sermonibus vituperantium criminantiumque regem faciles aures præbere." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 6. Tom. 2.--607.) Plutarch, notwithstanding, hath effectually vindicated Callisthenes. "Καὶ τοὶ τῶν περὶ Ἑρμολάον εἰδὲς οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναγκῆς τὰ Καλλισθένους κατεῖπεν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.

haps too ingenious, leaves no doubt whatever of the injustice that was done to him.<sup>d</sup>

The Latin historian adds, that Callisthenes was condemned without being heard in his defence.<sup>e</sup> But this idea seems to be contradicted by the evidence of Aristotle, and we learn that his ancient scholar was condemned by the Macedonians,<sup>f</sup> who had preserved their right of trial for state crimes, and had carefully excluded the Royal authority from any share in their deliberations.<sup>g</sup> If the Macedonians tried Callisthenes, the sentence must have been conformable to their laws, and the philosopher must have been either stoned to death, or pierced with darts,<sup>h</sup> instead of expiring on the cross, according to Ptolemy;<sup>i</sup> being confined in a cage,

<sup>d</sup> Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 7. Tom. 2.--608—612.

<sup>e</sup> "Callisthenes quoque tortus interiit. ————— Itaque nullius cædes majorem apud Græcos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod præditum optimis moribus artibusque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat, quum interfecto Clito mori perseveraret; non tantum occiderit, sed etiam torserit indiçtâ quidem causâ." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618, 619.

<sup>f</sup> "Ὁρμιζόμεναι τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ οἱ πολῖται γὰρ γίνονται, ὅταν εἰς ἄλλον τὴν οὐκ ἀναλωσῶσιν ὅιον συνέβη ἐπὶ Εὐρυφίλῳ· μαλλὸν γὰρ χαλεπαιοῦντες, ἢ Καλλισθένης ἀφῆσαν διὰ τοῦ Καλλισθένης τῇ περὶ τοῦ καταγινώσκειν θάνατον." Aristot. Rhetor. Lib. 2. C. 3. Arist. Opera. Tom. 3.--751.

<sup>g</sup> "De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum more inquirebat exercitus, in pace erat vulgi. Nihil potestas regum valebat; nisi prius valuisset auctoritas." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 8. Tom. 1.--444, 445.

<sup>h</sup> Which were Macedonian punishments, as we learn from Q. Curtius (Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--470, 471.) and Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 26.--243.

<sup>i</sup> "Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λαγὸς σπείλωνθεντα καὶ κρεμάσθοντα ἀποθανεῖν." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--294.

cage, and dying from filth and vermin, by the report of others; and still less being exposed to a lion,<sup>k</sup> or shut up in a cavern after having the nose, lips, and ears cut off,<sup>l</sup> which were the common punishments of the Eastern and barbarous<sup>m</sup> nations. Aristobulus related that Callisthenes was carried a prisoner, and in chains, along with the army, and that he died a natural death;<sup>n</sup> and Chares confirms this account, and assures us, that he died in irons after a confinement of seven months, when Alexander besieged the city of the Malli.<sup>o</sup> The Prince in a letter to Antipater, informs him, “The Macedonians have stoned the young men to death. As for the Sophist I will punish him myself, and those that sent him too, nor shall the towns that harboured the con-

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spirators

<sup>k</sup> “Εν σιδηρᾷ περιήχητο γαλαγγρά, φθειριῶν καὶ ἀκομισθεῖ καὶ τελευτᾷ λεοντὶ παρὰ βλήθεις, ἔτω κατεσφεν.”  
Diogen. Laert. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--271, 272.

<sup>l</sup> Quippe cum Alexander Magnus Callisthenem philosophum, propter salutationis Persicæ interpellatum morem, insidiarum, quæ sibi paratæ fuerant, conscium fuisse iratus finxisset; eumque, truncatis creduliter omnibus membris, abscissisque auribus ac naso labiisque, deforme ac miserandum spectaculum reddidisset: insuper cum cane in caveâ clausum ad metum ceterorum circumferret. &c.” Justin. Lib. 15. C. 3.--396.

<sup>m</sup> See Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--213.—Ammian. Marcellinus. Lib. 30. C. 8.--656. Ed. Gronov. 4<sup>to</sup> 1693.—Justin. Lib. 1. C. 10.--51.—Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1. --108.

<sup>n</sup> “Καλλισθένην δὲ Ἀριστοβουλὸν μὲν λέγει δεδεμένον ἐν πείλαις συμπεριχεσθαι τῇ στρατίᾳ, ἐπειτα νοσητὶ λευτῆσαι.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--294.

<sup>o</sup> “Χαρὴς δὲ, μετὰ τὴν συλληψιν ἑπτὰ μῆνας φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον, ὡς ἐν τῷ σινεδρίῳ κριθείη, παρὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην· ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν Μαλλοῖς Ὀξυδρακκίᾳ ἐτρωθῇ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδιαν ἀποθανόν· ἐπὶ τῷ παχνυ γνομένου καὶ φθειριασάντα.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

spirators escape.”<sup>p</sup> Plutarch, who preserved this fragment of a letter, adds, that several authors believed, that Callisthenes finished his days by a natural death in prison.<sup>1</sup> The writers of antiquity, who have taken notice of the death of the philosopher, do not mention any extraordinary punishment, that he suffered,<sup>r</sup> and their silence seems to strengthen the opinion of Aristobulus and Chares. Alexander, with his consummate political knowledge, could not have been so inconsiderate as to display before the Macedonians, the refined modes of torture invented by the people, that they had conquered. From this prudential system the execution of Callisthenes was probably suspended, and the hazard of another insurrection of the troops avoided, who might have considered the philosopher as a victim sacrificed on account of his adherence and attachment to the customs of their country.

Alexander hath been accused with strict justice of shedding the blood of his best friends,<sup>s</sup> but malice may have augmented the number

<sup>p</sup> Langhorn's Plutarch. Vol. 4.--299. “Οι μὲν Παιῖδες (φησὶν) ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελευσθῆσαν· τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν ἐγὼ κολάσω, καὶ τὰς ἐκπεμψάντας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰς ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς ψόλαισι τῆς ἐμοῦ ἐπιβουλευόντας.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

<sup>q</sup> “Ἀποθάνειν δὲ αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου κρεμάσθηντα λεγούσιν, οἱ δὲ, ἐν πεινῶντι δεδεμένον καὶ νοσήσαντα.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

<sup>r</sup> Dial. Mortuorum. 13. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1.--394.—Val. Max. Lib. 9. C. 3.--817.—Ed. Torrenii. 4<sup>to</sup> 1726.—Excerpta ex Polybio. Lib. 12.—Seneca. Quæst. Nat. Lib. 6. Tom. 2.--805. Ed. 8<sup>vo</sup> Amst. 1672.

<sup>s</sup> Plutarch. De Multitudine Amicorum. Tom. 2.--96.—Dialog. Mortuorum. 13, 14. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1.--394—396.—Tit. Liv. Lib. 9. C. 18. Tom. 2.--907.—Arrian. Exped. Alex.

number of those, who were supposed to have been put to death from his suspicions and caprices. Justin pretends, that Lyfimachus, who mounted the throne after Alexander's decease, had been exposed to a lion, on account of his connections with Callisthenes,† under whom he studied, and that he dispatched the ravenous beast, by thrusting his arm, wrapped in his mantle, down its throat. The origin of this fable, which was adopted by several historians, was clearly seen by Q. Curtius, who tells us, that Alexander, on a hunting party in Sogdia, was in great danger from a lion, and that Lyfimachus rushed in to his assistance.\* This circumstance might easily have given rise to the fable, but far from being exposed to the wild beast as a punishment, the danger of Lyfimachus was both voluntary and accidental. Plutarch even reckons Lyfimachus amongst the persons who accused Callisthenes,‡ and on

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this

Alex. Lib. 7. C. 4.--483.---Dion. Chrysost. Orat. Lib. 9.--598.--De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--697.

† “Lyfimachus, audire Callisthenem, et præcepta ab eo virtutis accipere solitus, misertus tanti viri, non culpæ, sed libertatis pœnas pendentis, venenum ei in remedia calamitatum dedit. Quod adeo ægre Alexander tulit, ut eum objici ferocissimo leoni juberet. Sed cum ad conspectum ejus concitatus leo impetum fecisset, manum amiculo involutam Lyfimachus in os leonis immerfit, adreptâque linguâ, feram exanimavit.” (Justin. Lib. 15. C. 3.--396, 397.) Valerius Maximus also hath the expression of “Lyfimachus leoni objectus.” Lib. 9. C. 3.--817.

‡ “Alexander cum toto exercitu ingressus agitari undique feras jussit. Inter quas quum leo magnitudinis raræ ipsum regem invasurus incurreret; forte Lyfimachus, qui postea regnavit, proximus Alexandro, venabulum objicere feræ cœperat. Quo rex repulso, et abire jussu, adjecit, tam a semet uno quam a Lyfimacho leonem interfici posse. Lyfimachus enim quondam cum venaretur in Syriâ, occiderat eximie magnitudinis feram solus: sed lævo humero usque ad ossa laceratus ad ultimum periculum pervenerat.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--566.

\* “Ἐπειτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Ἀγνάνες ἐπεψύοντο, φασκόντες περιμεῖναι τὸν σοφιστὴν, ὡς ἐπὶ κατὰ λυσιτελεῖται. ὁ δὲ μέγα φρονέοντα, καὶ συντρέχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ μείρακια, καὶ περιεπεῖν, ὡς μοῖον ἐλευθεροῖ ἐν τοσούτοις μείρασι.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696,



this supposition, he could not have forfeited the Macedonian Monarch's favour from an undue partiality to the philosopher, and an improper intimacy with him.

The condemnation of Agathocles of Samos, rests only on the same weak foundation. The tears, which he dropped over the ashes of Hephæstion, could not have been criminal in Alexander's eyes, who had shed them in abundance on the same occasion; besides, Lucian is the single author, that hath transmitted to us this dubious anecdote.<sup>y</sup>

Alexander felt some poignant regret on the death of Clitus, it was, however, of short duration, and he soon abandoned himself again to the same vicious excesses, which have so disgraced his character. Adoration was the first object of his wishes, but the manly eloquence of Callisthenes, had checked the criminal inclinations, which the tribe of his obsequious sycophants was well disposed to gratify. Yet the motives of the Macedonians for refusing him their adoration, though perfectly proper, were not taken up on just principles, or from sound distinctions. The Persians had been always accustomed to render their kings honours purely civil, and the Greeks deceived by this external shew of veneration, which was still in use with the Eastern nations, considered

<sup>y</sup> "Τότε ἡ Αγαθοκλῆς ὁ Σαμίῳ ταξιστῶν παρ' Αλεξάνδρῳ, ἡ τιμωμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ, μικρὸν δὲ συνκαταεισχθὲν λέοντι, διαβλήδεις ὅτι δακρυοῖτο παρὶν τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνῳ τάφον." Lucian. Calumn. non tem. cred. Tom. 3.--149.

sidered it as a mark of a religious and profane worship, with which they ought not to comply. This extraordinary homage, which the Persian monarchs appeared to receive from their subjects, arose from their peculiar tenets, and the belief that their kings, according to the Zend-Avesta, were animated with some particles of the sacred fire, which is perpetually burning in the presence of Ormazd. <sup>a</sup>—The great author of the spirit of laws, pretends that Alexander, “assumed the manners of the Persians, that he might not chagrin them too much by obliging them to conform to those of the Greeks, <sup>a</sup> and Arrian hath likewise apologized for the Macedonian Monarch’s conduct on this occasion, <sup>b</sup> but it is still liable to

<sup>a</sup> Zend-Avesta. Tom. 3.--607. This sacred fire, immediately preceded the Persian monarchs in their processions, as may be learned from Xenophon: “Και πρὸς ὀπίσθεν αὐτῆς ἐπ’ ἐσχάρας μεγάλῃς ἄνδρες ἕποντο φέροντες. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἤδη αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν προέφαινετο ὁ Κεϋθῶ.” (Cyræpædia. Lib. 8.--595.) and Ammian. Marcellinus informs us it was supposed to have originally fallen from heaven. “Fervatque si justum est credi, etiam ignem cælitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodiri, cujus portionem exiguam ut fustam præisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt.” Lib. 23. C. 6.--406.

<sup>a</sup> Nugent’s Translation. Vol. 1.--212. “Il prit les mœurs des Perses, pour ne pas desoler des Perses, en leur faisant prendre les mœurs des Grecs.” Montesquieu, de l’Esprit des Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1.--198.

<sup>b</sup> “Ὡς ἐμοίγε καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ σκευὴ σοφισμα εἶναι δοκεῖ, πρὸς τε τῆς βασιλείας, ὥς μὴ πάντῃ αλλοτρίον αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλεῖα καὶ πρὸς τῆς Μακεδονίας, ὥς ἀποστροφὴν τινὰ εἶναι αὐτῶ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκιστικῆς καὶ ἑβραίων Μακεδονικῆς.” (Arrian. Lib. 7. C. 29.--544, 545.) Yet the Macedonian troops had openly expressed strong symptoms of dissatisfaction, at their Monarch’s adoption of the Persian dress and luxury. “Hoc luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palam averfabatur, totisque castris unus omnium sensus ac fermo erat, plus amissum victoria quam bello quaeritum esse. Tum maxime vinci ipsos, dedique alienis moribus et externis: tantæ moræ pretium, domos quasi in captivo habitu reverfuros: pudere jam fui. Regem victis quam victoribus familiorem ex Macedonia imperatore Darii satrapen factum.” (Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--427, 428.) The reasons for their dissatisfaction, Q. Curtius had before explained

to objection. The adoption of the customs of a conquered nation, is a kind of insult on the victorious troops, and destroys at once the happy confidence of superiority, which is the life of military enthusiasm, and the first cause of those powerful exertions, which are generally decisive and successful. Asiatic luxury and the Eastern manners, could not fail of enervating the courage of the Macedonian army, and of stifling that noble ardour, which is fanned into a blaze by the reaction of the soul, on the objects, which have forcibly affected it. "It was not prudent," as an able politician hath observed, "to shock the Macedonians, in order to gratify the Persians. Wherever the manners of a conquered nation are adopted by the conquerors, their ruin follows, and is certain. Is it possible that Alexander was either ignorant of this common maxim, or considered the degradation and corruption of the Macedonians as the foundation of his power? the Asiatics, who had been used to creep under the yoke of despotism, might submit to their chains with some docility, but the Greeks must have required management." <sup>c</sup>

Alexander's historians have let only a few anecdotes escape from them, that bare to open to view the vices of their Hero, which  
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ed to us. "*Perfarum spolia gestare dicebat: sed cum illis quoque mores induerat: superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur.*" Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--425.

<sup>c</sup> "Pour plaire aux Perses etoit-il prudent de choquer les Macedoniens? Donner aux vainqueurs les mœurs des vaincus, c'est preparer leur ruin: c'est la rendre certaine; et l'on veut qu' Alexandre, ignorant cette verite commune, ait regardé la corruption et l'avilissement des Macedoniens comme le fondement de sa puissance: les Asiatiques accoutumés à ramper sous les despotisme, devoient porter leur chaine avec docilité; les Grecs seuls meritoient des menagements."

Observ. sur l'Hist. de la Grece, par M. l'Abbe Mably. 225, &c.

it was their constant study to conceal. Arrian, though the least culpable <sup>d</sup> in this respect, is not entirely excusable, but Aristobulus hath the assurance to advance, that the Macedonian Monarch never exceeded in the pleasures of the table, except in compliment to his friends, and that he seldom made free with wine. <sup>e</sup> This is far from coinciding with the testimony of many writers of Alexander's life, and the expressions of Menander, <sup>f</sup> prove that the Prince's intemperance was even become proverbial. Chares of Mitylene relates, that the Macedonian Conqueror having ordered some gymnastic games on the funeral of Calanus, in which some prizes were offered for the greatest drinkers, thirty-five of these heroes died in this honourable field of battle, and six others expired a few moments afterwards in their tents. <sup>g</sup> Promachus carried off the first prize which was a talent.

<sup>d</sup> Where Arrian could not defend, he has endeavoured to palliate.—See Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 29, 30.—543—545.

<sup>e</sup> “Καὶ οἱ ποτοὶ δὲ, ὡς λέγει Αἰσίοβελος, ἡ τε οὖν ἐνεκὰ μακροὶ αὐτῷ ἐμύροντο (ἡ γὰρ πίνειν πολλὸν οἶνον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) ἀλλὰ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς ἐς τῆς ἐταίρας.” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 29.—545.)  
<sup>f</sup> “Ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς οἶνον ἥτις ἡ εὐδοκία καταφειγῆς· εὐδοξία δὲ διὰ τοῦ χρόνου· ὃν ἡ πίνων μάλλον ἢ λαλῶν εἴλεκεν, ἐφ’ ἑκάστης κυλικῷ αἰεὶ μακρὸν τινα λόγον διατιθέμενος, καὶ ταῦτα, πολλὰς σχολὰς εἴσῃ.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.—677.

<sup>f</sup> “Μενάνδρος δ’ ἐν Κολακίῳ φησι,

Κοτύλας χρωρὲν δέκα ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ  
 Κηδύλον χρυσὸν σφραγὶς τρεῖς ἐπιὸν μέτρον γε  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πλεονέπεως τε βασιλείᾳς  
 Οὐκ ἐλαττόν ἢ μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνῆν μέγα γέ.”

Athenæus. Lib. 10.—434.

<sup>g</sup> “Χαρὴς δ’ ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱστορίαις, περὶ Καλάνου εἰπόντων τῇ Ἰνδῇ φιλοσοφῇ, — ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μνηματί αὐτῆς διεθῆκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ μουσικὸν ἐγκωμίων· ἐθῆκε δὲ φησὶ καὶ διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ ἀκροποτικὰς ἀγῶνας· καὶ ἡν ἀθλοὶ τῷ μὲν πρῶτῳ τάλαιτον, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τρεῖς-  
 χούρας



talent.—Nicobulus assures us also, that Alexander at a supper with Medius, drank as much as twenty other guests who partook of the entertainment, and that on retiring he fell into a profound sleep,<sup>h</sup> a strong symptom undoubtedly of sobriety.

Plutarch recedes the least from his professed character of Alexander's apologist, and he would have us to believe, that the Prince highly disapproved of the effeminacy of Agnon and Philotas.<sup>i</sup> Ælian in opposition tells us, that he had personally corrupted them,<sup>k</sup> and the opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Agatharcides of Gnidus,<sup>l</sup> and the letter, which Alexander wrote to the inhabitants

κοιτᾶ μιναι, καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ δεκά\* τῶν ἐν πιοντῶν τὸν οἶνον παρὰ χρημα μεν ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπο τῆ ψυχῆς τριακοντα καὶ πεντε\* μικρον δὲ διαλιπόντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἔξ\*. ὁ δὲ πλείων πίων καὶ νικησας ἐπὶ μεν ἀκράτῃ χροῶς τεσσαρας\* ἐκαλείτο δὲ Πρῶμαχος\* (Athenæus. Lib. 10.--436, 437.) The Χροῶς τεσσαρες were something short of two gallons, but the prowess of Proteas was as remarkable. Athenæus. Lib. 10.--434.

<sup>h</sup> “Νικοβελῆ δὲ ——— φησιν, ὅτι παρὰ Μεδίῳ τῷ Θεσσαλῷ δειπνῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, εἰκοσιν ἑσιν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, πᾶσιν παρουπτε παρὰ πάντων τὰ ἴσα λαμβάνων, καὶ ἀνασας τὴν συμποσίαν, μετ’ ἑ πολὺ ἀνεπαύετο.” Athenæus. Lib. 10.--434.

<sup>i</sup> “Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐνῶρα πάντα πᾶσιν ἐκτετρύφηκοτας, καὶ φορτικὰς ταῖς διαίταις, καὶ πολιτεταῖς οὐκ ὄντας, ὥστε Ἀγνῶνα μεν Τηῖον ἀργύρεος ἐν ταῖς κρηπίσιν ἡλὺς φορεῖν, Λεονάτῳ δὲ πολλὰς καμηλοῖς ἀπ’ Αἰγυπτῆος κοινὴν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια παρακομιζέσθαι, Φιλῶτα δὲ, πρὸς θήρας γαδίῳ ἐκατὸν αὐλαῖς γέγονεναι, μὲν δὲ χροῶμενος ἰέναι πρὸς ἀλειμμά καὶ λυτρεῖν ὅσους ἔδε ελαίῳ, τρίπτας δὲ καὶ κατευνασας περιεργόμενος\* ἐπιτιμήσεν πρᾶως, καὶ φιλοσοφῶς\* (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--688.) Athenæus gives nearly the same ostentatious account, (Lib. 12.--539.) from whom it descended most probably to Plutarch and Ælian.

<sup>k</sup> “Ὅτι διεθρύπτε τὴν ἑταίρεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τρυφᾶν ἐπιχωρῶν αὐτοῖς\* Εἶγε καὶ Ἀγνῶν χρυσοῦς ἦλθεν ἐν ταῖς κρηπίσιν ἐφορεῖ.” (Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 9. C. 3. Tom. 1.--570.) Whether these nails or studs were golden ones or silver ones, the vanity of Agnon was equally ridiculous.

<sup>l</sup> “Ἀγαθάρχιδης δὲ ὁ Κνιδιῶς ἐν οὐδὴ Ἀσιατικῶν ἴσχει, ὡς οἱ ἐξῴοντες Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν Φίλιππον τῶν Φιλων,



inhabitants of Ionia, and his orders for a quantity of purple, with which he meant to clothe his friends.<sup>m</sup> Instead of laying any restraint on luxury, it was authorized by his own example, and, according to Phylarchus, the daily expences of the Royal household were enormous.<sup>n</sup> The Prince's tent alone contained a hundred beds, the pillars which supported them were incrusted with gold, and the ceiling was beautified and embellished with the same extravagance.<sup>o</sup> When he gave audience, he was seated on a throne of gold, surrounded with numerous guards, and Iphippus of Olinthus adds, that the floor was sprinkled with delicious liquors and perfumes, and that myrrh and all kinds of the most odoriferous incense were burnt before him.<sup>p</sup> This is certainly no

I I

proof

λων, το μελλον παραπετησεσθαι των τετραχηματων περιεχυσεν\* οτε δε θελοιεν αναλασκειν, περιελοντες τον χρυσον αμα τοις αλλοις εξεβαλον, ινα της μεν πολυτελειας οι φιλοι θεαται γενωνται, οι δε οικεται κυριον." Athenæus. Lib. 4.--155.

<sup>m</sup> "Εγχευε δε η τοτε Αλεξανδρῳ ταις εν Ιωνια πολεσιν, η ζωτοις Χιοις, οπως αυτω πορφυραν αποσειλωσιν\* ηθελε γαρ τες εταιρους απαντας αλουργας ενδυσαι φορας." Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539: 540.

<sup>n</sup> Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539.

<sup>o</sup> "Αυτω δε Αλεξανδρῳ η μεν σκηνη ην κλων εκατον\* χρυσοι δε κισνες πεντηκοντα διειληψαν αυτην, η τον οροφον αυτης ανεχον\* Αυτῳ δε ο χρυσῳ διαχρυσῳ ην, η εκπεπονητο ποικιλιμασι πολυτελεσι\* η πρωτοι μεν Περσαι πεντακοσιοι, οι καλημενοι Μηλοφοροι, περι αυτην εντῳ εισηκεισαν, πορφυρας η μηλινας ησθημενοι φορας\* επ' αυτοις δε τοξαται χιλιοι, φλογινα ενδεδυκοτες η ισχυροβαφη\* παρ δε ταυτων οι αργυροσπιδες πεντακοσιοι Μακεδονες\* Εν μεση δε τη σκηνη χρυσος ετιθετο διφρῳ, η επ' αυτω καθήμενῳ Αλεξανδρῳ εχρηματιζε, περιεστων αυτω παντοθεν των σωματοφυλακων. Περιηει δε την σκηνην περιβολῳ, ενδυνασαν Μακεδονες χιλιοι, η Περσαι μυριοι." (Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 9. C. 3.--571, 572, 573.) See also Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539.

<sup>p</sup> "Εγανε δε ο Αλεξανδρῳ η μυρω σπαθαιω, η οινω ευωδει το δαπνδον\* ιδρυματο δε αυτω σμιρνα, η τα αλλα θυμιαματα." Athenæus. Lib. 12.--537, 538.

proof of Alexander's moderation in his pleasures, of which Arrian<sup>9</sup> wishes to persuade us, and is not calculated to authenticate what Montefquieu asserts. "He<sup>r</sup> was close and reserved in his private expences————In regulating his household, he was the private Macedonian."<sup>s</sup> It seems extraordinary, that this acute and penetrating writer should have imagined Alexander found the means of augmenting his power by his strict frugality, and of furnishing himself with resources from his private œconomy. Such perhaps might have been the case when he first commenced hostilities against the Persian empire, and his policy, and even his necessities pointed out to him a line of conduct very different from that, which he followed after the battle of Gaugamele. From this period of his life, he displayed a luxurious parade and pomp, which equally insulted the severer manners of his own country, and the misfortunes of the people that he had conquered. Nothing had perhaps hitherto reached the magnificence on the celebration of the marriages between the Macedonians and the Persian women. No less than ninety-two nuptial beds were prepared in one spacious chamber, and the coverture of each was valued at twenty minæ.<sup>t</sup>—Alexander's was distinguished by feet  
of

<sup>9</sup> "Χρηματων δε es μεν ἴδοντας τας αὐτης, φειδωλοτατοι<sup>9</sup> es δε εὐποριαν των πειλας, ἀφρονωτατοι<sup>9</sup>" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--543.

<sup>r</sup> "Sa main se fermoit pour les depenses privees————falloit-il regler sa maison? C'etoit un Macedonien." Montefquieu de l'Esprit des Loix. Livre 10. C. 14.--200.

<sup>s</sup> Nugent's Translation. Vol. 1.--214.

<sup>t</sup> 64*℥*. 11*℥*. 8*d*. sterling.

of solid gold.—All the courtiers and a great number of strangers were invited to the entertainment on this occasion, and it was given in a tent, supported by columns nearly thirty feet in height, plated with gold and sparkling with jewels and precious stones.<sup>v</sup> The ablest tragedians and comedians, and most celebrated musicians assisted at the festival, and Athenæus hath preserved their names which he extracted from Chares, as well as the particulars that have been mentioned.<sup>w</sup>

Plutarch hath endeavoured to frame some little excuse for Alexander's adoption of the manners and habits of the nations that he conquered, and attempts to justify him, by saying, the dress which he made use of was a medium between that of Persia and of Media.<sup>x</sup>

I I 2

But

<sup>v</sup> “Χαρης δ'εν τη δεκάτῃ των περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἱστοριῶν, ὅτε φησιν, εἶλε Δαρειον, γαμῆς συνετελεσιν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ των ἄλλων φίλων ἐνενηκοντα καὶ δύο θαλαμῆς κατασκευασαμεν. εν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ· ἦν δὲ ὁ οἶκος ἑκατοντακλινος, εν ᾧ ἕκαστῃ ἦν κλίνη, κεκοσμημένη σόλῃ γαμικῇ εἰκοσι μῶνων ἀργυρῶν, ἥ δὲ αὐτῷ χεῖροσπες ἦν· συμπεφασθε δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, καὶ τῆς ἰδιοξενῆς ἀπάντας· καὶ κατεκλινεν ἀντιπροσώπων ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νυμφίοις τὴν τε λοιπὴν δύναμιν, πεζὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν, καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας, καὶ τῆς παρ'ἐπιδήμωντας εν τῇ αἰλῇ. κατεσκεύασε δὲ ὁ οἶκος πολυτελεὺς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἱματίοις τε καὶ ὀδονίοις πολυτελεσιν· ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα πορφύροις καὶ φοινίκοις χρυσοῦσιν· τῇ δὲ μέλει τὴν σκηνὴν ὑπέκειν το κίονες εἰκοσάπηχες περιχρῖστοι καὶ διαλῖθοι καὶ περιεργυροί· περιεβέβληντο δ'εν τῷ περιβόλῳ πολυτελεῖς αὐλαὶ καὶ ζῶντοί, καὶ διαχρῖστοι, κανόνας εἶχουσαι περιχρῖστος καὶ περιεργυρος· τῆς δὲ αὐλῆς ἦν τὸ περιμετρὸν σαδίοι τεσσαρες.” Athenæus. Lib. 12.--538.

<sup>w</sup> “Les plus habiles historiens et les musiciens celeb.es.” The band, according to Athenæus, (Lib. 12.--538, 539.) consisted of the “Θαυματοποιοί, Ραψῳδοί, Ψαλμοὶ, Λιλιῶδοι, Λιλιῆται, Διονυσόχοοι, Ἀλεξανδροκόοι, Τραγωδοί, Κωμῳδοί, Ψαλτῆς,” and some chorus-singers and vocal performers. The historians are not mentioned, and I have omitted them. The Baron de St. Croix may have perhaps included them under the Ραψῳδοί.

<sup>x</sup> “Ἐνδυσάτο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν σόλην, εἴτε βελομένη αὐτὸν συνοικεῖν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ὡς μέγα πρόξημα εἰς ἀνδράπων τὸ συνῆδες καὶ ὁμοφυλον· εἰτ' ἀποπαῖρα τις υφείτο τῆς προσκυνήσεως αὐτῇ τοῖς Μακεδό-

But the Conqueror carried his extravagance much further, and Iphippus of Olinthus relates, that he sometimes appeared at these festive entertainments in purple, with the horns of Jupiter Ammon, and that he was drawn in a car with a Persian mantle over his shoulders, and the quiver of Diana at his back. Amongst his friends he appeared sometimes like Mercury, with feathers to his heels and a Caduceus in his hand, which he exchanged for the lion's skin and club of Hercules.<sup>y</sup> "Hills and mountains," observes Plutarch, "are not easily taken by stratagem or ambuscade, but a weak mind, swollen big and lofty by fortune, birth, or the like, lies naked to the assaults of every mean and petty aggressor."<sup>z</sup> Alexander was soon captivated with the grossest flattery, and his despotic temper prevented his friends from approaching him either with freedom or sincerity. Maximus Tyrius seems to indicate,

σι, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνασχεσθαι τὴν ἐκδρακτῆσιν αὐτὴ καὶ μετὰ βόλῃν ἐδιζόμενοις· ἔμην τὴν γε Μηδικὴν πρὸς ἡκατο  
πάντα πασιν, βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἀλλοκοτὸν ἔσαν, ἔδε ἀναξυρίδας, ἔδε κανόνιν, ἔδε τιάρην ἐλάβεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ  
τινα τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς, μιζόμενοι εὐπῶς, αὐτοφύτοις μὲν ἐκείνης, ταυτὴς δὲ σοβαρώτερον ἔσαν."

De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

<sup>y</sup> "Ἐφίππου δὲ φησιν, ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῶς ἱεράς ἐσθῆτας ἐφορεῖ ἐν τοῖς δειπνοῖς, ὅτε μὲν τὴν τε Ἀμ-  
μὸν πορφυρίδα, καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κρεατὰ, καὶ θάπτεσθαι ὅτι· ὅτε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀρτεμιῶς, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγέμῃ-  
τῇ ἐφορεῖ, πολλὰ τὴν Περσικὴν γόλην ὑποφαινὼν ἀνῶθεν τῶν ὤμων, τὸ τε τοξὸν καὶ τὴν σιβυρὴν· ἐνιοτε δὲ  
καὶ τὴν τε Ἑβερὸν καὶ μεν ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν————— ἐν δὲ τῇ συνήσει τὰ τε πεδίλα, καὶ τὸν πετάσον ἐπὶ  
τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ τὸ κρησκευὼν ἐν τῇ χεὶρ, πολλὰ καὶ δὲ λεόντην καὶ εἰσπαλὸν ὥσπερ ὁ Ἰσακλῆς." Athenæus.  
Lib. 12.--537.

<sup>z</sup> Plutarch's Morals. Vol. 2.--135. 8<sup>vo</sup> Edit. 1704. "Τῶν μὲν γὰρ τοπῶν τὰ ὑψηλὰ δυσπρό-  
σοδα καὶ δυσεφικτὰ γέγοντο τοῖς ἐπιβελουσι· τὸ δὲ ἐν ψυχῇ νῦν ἐκ ἐχρήση δι' ἐντυχίαν ἢ δι' εὐφροσύνην ὑψοῦ καὶ  
φρονημα, τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ ταπεινοῖς μακρὴν βασιμὸν ἐστὶ." Plutarch. De Adul. et Amic. Discrim.  
Tom. 2.--65.

cate, that this was one principal reason of the rapid progress, which adulation made amongst the Macedonians. “When fear and tyranny prevail, adulation,” in the words of the philosopher, “regularly flourishes, and friendship descends into the grave.”<sup>a</sup> Iphippus of Olinthus informs us, that Alexander’s best friends were under the necessity of applauding what they could not approve; and in those riotous excesses, which tarnished the Prince’s glory, they observed a profound silence, from the apprehension of increasing his outrageous passions, or affording him any pretext to indulge his favourite propensity of shedding human blood.<sup>b</sup> Lucian assures us likewise, that calumny and flattery had a ready access to the Macedonian Monarch; <sup>c</sup> and Anaxarchus, to console him for the murder of Clitus, defended in his presence the execrable maxim that justice had no other rule than the will of kings.<sup>d</sup> “This miserable Sophist was one of the most distinguished of the infamous band of Medeus, that arch parasite and enemy to the Macedonian nobility, and chief of all that numerous train which Alexander entertained in his court. — This man taught his disciples  
to

<sup>a</sup> “Ὅπῃ γὰρ δέος καὶ ἐξέσσις δεσποτικὴ το ἀρχομένον ἀγγχεὶ ἀνάγκη δέουσι κολακεῖν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, φίλων δὲ καταρνεῖσθαι.” Maximus Tyrius. Tom. 1.--393. Ed. Reiske. 8<sup>vo</sup> Lips. 1774.

<sup>b</sup> “Εὐφημία τε καὶ σιγὴ κατεῖχε πάντας ὑπὸ δέους τῆς παρόντας· ἀφορῶντ’ ὅτι γὰρ ἦν, καὶ φονικῶν.” Athenæus. Lib. 12.--538.

<sup>c</sup> “Ἡ γὰρ κολακεία καὶ ἡ διαβολὴ τότε μαλίστ’ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρην πᾶσι συντιθεμένην.” Lucian, Calumn. non tem. cred. Tom. 3.--150.

<sup>d</sup> “Τὴν δίκην ἔχει παρὲς δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ τὴν Θέμιν, ἵνα πᾶν τὸ παρὰ χεῖρ ὑπὸ τῆς κρατεντὸς δειματὸν ἢ καὶ δίκαιον; τοῖσιν τοῖσι λόγοις χρησάμεντος Ἀναξαρχοῦ, τὸ μὲν πᾶσι ἐκβίβει τὴν βασιλείαν, τὸ δὲ θεὸς εἰς πολλὰ χυνότερον καὶ παρὰ νομῶτερον ἐποίησεν.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.



to slander boldly and push home their calumnies; for though the wound might probably be cured and skinned over again, yet the teeth of slander would be sure to leave a scar behind them: by these scars (or to speak more properly) gangrenes and cancers of false accusations, fell the brave Callisthenes, Parmenio, and Philotas, whilst he himself became an easy prey to an Agnon, Bagoas, Agefias and Demetrius, who tricked him up like a barbarian statue or antick, and paid the mortal, the adoration due to a God.”<sup>e</sup> This gloomy picture of the effects of adulation on Alexander’s conduct, must notwithstanding be correct, as it comes from the hand of Plutarch. It may be more easily relied on, as he is always disposed to palliate the Macedonian Monarch’s excesses, and would willingly persuade us, that he courageously resisted the solicitations of Agnon and Philoxenus, when they would have seduced him into some unnatural sensuality.<sup>f</sup> But admitting these sycophants

to

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch’s Morals. Vol. 2.--134, 135. “Ἦν δὲ ὁ Μεδίῳ τε περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον χορὴ τῶν κυλακῶν ὄιον ἐξαρχῶ, καὶ σοφίης κορυφαίῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους συντεταγμένῳ· ἐκέλευεν ἂν θαρσύνεσθαι, ἀπτεσθαι καὶ δακνέειν ταῖς διὰ βολαῖς, διδασκῶν ὅτι καὶ θερραπύετε τὸ ἔλκῳ ὃ δεινῶς ἐκείνη, ἢ ἢ μὲν τῆς διαβολῆς. ταῦταις μὲν τοῖς ἡλπίσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ γαλήναις, καὶ καρνικωμάσι διαβρωθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀπώλεσε καὶ Καλλισθένη, καὶ Παρμενίωνα καὶ Φίλωταν· Ἀγνώσι δὲ καὶ Βαγώσι καὶ Ἀγήςαις καὶ Δημητρίοις ἀφειδῶς ἐνεδῶκεν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποσκελίζεσθαι, προσκυνημένον καὶ κατασολιζόμενον καὶ ἀναπλάττομενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἀγάλματι βαρβαρίκῳ.” (Plut. De Adult. et Amici. Discrim. Tom. 2.--65.) Monsieur de Theil hath added to his translation of this part of Plutarch’s Works, some curious observations upon the ancient Parasites.

<sup>f</sup> “Φιλοξένῳ ————— ἐγχαψεν εἶναι παρ’ αὐτῷ Θεόδωρον τινὰ Ταρσεντίνον, ἐχόντα παῖδας ὡνίας δύο, τὴν οὖν ὑπερφύεις, καὶ συνδανόμενῳ εἰ πενήται, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκῶν, ἐβόα πολλὰς πρὸς τὰς φίλας, ἐρωτῶν τι πωπετε Φιλοξένῳ αἰσχρὸν αὐτῷ σινηγνώκως, τοιαῦτα οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅτι προξένων καθήκον· τὸν δὲ Φιλοξένον αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πολλὰ λοιδορήσας, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις τὸν Θεόδωρον εἰς τὸν ὀλεθρὸν ἀποστέλλειν· ἐπεπληξεν δὲ καὶ Ἀγνώνι νεανίσκῳ, γράψαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτι Κρωβύλον εὐδοκίμησεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἐβλήθη πείσασθαι ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--676, 677.

to have had the power of exciting the Prince to the destruction of his ablest generals, and most faithful friends, we may easily conceive their influence must have been as fatal, when they offered to him new symptoms of criminal debauchery.

The shameful passion of the Greeks for unnatural vices<sup>s</sup> was a matter of public notoriety, and little doubt can remain of the infamous commerce between the Macedonian Monarch and the Eunuch Bagoas. Dicaearchus informs us, that he embraced him in the most lascivious and indecent manner in the theatre, before a crowded audience, which far from blushing at the scandalous transaction,

<sup>s</sup> Some learned men have endeavoured to rescue several of the great characters of Antiquity from this detestable suspicion, (See Toup. *Appendicula Not. atque Emend. in Theocritum.* 26. ---Potter's *Grecian Antiq.* Book 4. C. 2. Vol. 2.--390.---Philo. *De vitâ contemplativâ.*---Max. Tyrius. *Dissert.* 8, 9, 10, 11.---Hist. of Athens. 321.) and to explain away the appendant tribe of young men and boys, celebrated for their beauty, that constantly clung around them. Many virtuous individuals must certainly have risen superior to the general depravity, and the young men, under their patronage, must have been trained up to every thing that was good or great; but whilst such practices and such premiums existed, as Moschus and Theocritus have described,

“Και παιδῶν ἐδίδασκε φιλήματα”

Moschi Idyll. 3.--84.--28. Oxon. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1748.

“Αἶε δὲ περὶ τυμβῶν ἀλλεῖς εἰασι πρῶτω  
Κεροὶ ἐριδμάνεσι φιλημάτων ἀκρὰ φερεσθαι  
Ὅς δὲ κε πρῶσμαξή γλυκερώτερὰ χεῖλεσι χεῖλη  
βριθόμενον σιφανοῖσιν ἔην πρὸς μητέρ’ ἀπηνθῆν  
Ὀλβίῳ ὅσις παῖσι φιλήματα κείνα δαίτα  
Ἦ πῃ τὸν χαροπὸν Γανυμήδεα πολλ’ ἐπὶ ὤσσει,  
Λυδίῃ ἴσον εἶχεν πρετὴν σομα”

Theocrit. Id. 12.--30. Tom. 1.--55. Oxon. 4<sup>to</sup> 1770.

it is in vain to combat, by any arguments, the “Ἑλληνικὸν τροπὸν” and the profligacy of those licentious times. Athenæus tells us, without equivocation, “Ὡς δὲ τῆς παιδικῆς ἔρωτος τῶν ἐπιταῖς θηλείαις προκρίνεσι πολλοί,” and he adds, to shew its notoriety, “Παρεὰ γὰρ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ταῖς ἐνομμεμέναις πολεσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδ’ οὐ σπεύδασθῆναι τὸ δὲ τοῦ εἶθ’.” (Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--601.) There is not a more infamous acknowledgment upon Record!

transaction, testified its satisfaction by a very general applause.<sup>b</sup> The severe observations of Orfines, respecting this Eunuch, in Q. Curtius,<sup>c</sup> evidently prove the unnatural connection between his master and the Catamite; but the Latin historian, with unaccountable inconsistency, afterwards asserts, that Alexander in his sensual gratifications had not strayed beyond the bounds of nature, or wandered into forbidden paths.<sup>k</sup>

Alexander's humanity to the nations, that he conquered, hath been boasted of, but it is sometimes problematical. Many actions of his life demonstrate to a certainty, that in the latter period of his reign he had forgotten the clemency, with which in an early stage of glory and of victory, he had soothed the misfortunes of the different people, over whom he triumphed. Vanity and political finessè might have perhaps suggested to him  
such

<sup>b</sup> "Φιλοπαις δὲ ἦν ἐκμανὼς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς Δικαιαρχῳ γένει ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας, καγὼν τε εὐνοῦχε ἕτως αὐτὸν φησὶ ἡρᾶσθαι, ὥς ἐν οὐφεί θεατρὸν ὅλην καταφιλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνακλασάντα, καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιφωνησαντῶν μετὰ κροτοῦ ἐκ ἀπειθήσας, πάλιν ἀνακλασας ἐφίλησεν." Athenæus. Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--603.

<sup>c</sup> "Les reproches qu'Orfines fait dans Quinte Curce à cet eunuque." I have made a trifling alteration in the sense of this sentence, as the only reproach, which Orfines personally made to Bagoas was the "Audieram in Asiâ olim regnasse Feminas; hoc vero novum est, regnasse Castratum." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--755.) To a friend, who wished to put him on his guard against the Eunuch's machinations, with more caustic acrimony, he had previously observed, "Amicos regis, non scorta se colere." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--752.

<sup>k</sup> "Veneris intra naturale desiderium usus, nec ulla nisi ex permisso voluptas." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--786.) I am utterly unable to reconcile the "Naturale desiderium" with the "Bagoæ spadoni, qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--751.

such a laudable and advantageous line of conduct, at the outset of his military career, and the mask dropped when it was no longer necessary. True virtue, which really springs from the heart, seldom varies, but continues to animate the bosom, until it ceases to throb itself. The devastation of the country of Sambus,<sup>l</sup> and that of the Pathalians;<sup>m</sup> the burning of the city of the Agalassians;<sup>n</sup> the crucifixion of the Indian prince Musicanus,<sup>o</sup> and the

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punishment

<sup>l</sup> “Ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν τε Σαμίῃ βασιλείαν ἐξεπορῆθη καὶ τὰς πλείους πόλεις ἐξανδραποδισαμένῳ καὶ κατασκαπ-  
σας, κατέκοψε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ὑπὲρ τὰς οὐκτω μυριάδας.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--239.

<sup>m</sup> “In proximam gentem Pathaliam perventum est. Rex erat Mæris, qui urbe deserta in mon-  
tes profugerat. Itaque Alexander oppido potitur, agrosque populatur.” (Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C.  
8. Tom. 2.--729.) Under the same circumstances, perhaps the modern rules of war would au-  
thorize the same treatment. Arrian gives a very different account of the business. “Ὁ δὲ κατα-  
διώξιν τῶν φευγόντων ἐκπεψῆς τῆς στρατίας τῆς κουφοτάτης, ὥστε τινες αὐτῶν ξυνελήφθησαν, ἀποπεμψέ τοι-  
της παρὰ τῆς ἀλλῆς, ἐντεταλμένος ἐπαίνειναι θάρρητας· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν οἰκὴν ὡς προσθεν, καὶ τὴν  
χωρὰν ἐργάζεσθαι· καὶ ἐπανηλθον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν.” Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 18.--443.

<sup>n</sup> “Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγχωρίων συναθροισθέντων, δισημύρις μὲν καταφύγοντας εἰς πόλιν μεγάλην κατα κρά-  
τος εἴλε· τῶν δὲ Ἰνδῶν διαφραξάντων τῆς γενέως, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων μαχομένων ευρωσῶς, βιαζόμενος ἀπέβαλε τῶν  
Μακεδόνων οὐκ ὀλίγους· διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐμώρησας τὴν πόλιν, συγκατέκασε τῆς πλείους.” Diod. Sicul.  
Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--235.

<sup>o</sup> This unfortunate Indian prince had neglected, according to Arrian, the following duties ei-  
ther to Craterus, or his Royal master, “Οὕτω ἀπηντήκει αὐτῷ Μουσικανός, ἐνδίδους αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν χωρὰν,  
οὔτε πρεσβείας ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ ἐκπεμψέ, οὔτε τι οὔτε αὐτῷ ἐπεπομπέ, ἃ δὴ μέγαλιν βασιλεὺς εἰκῆ, οὔτε τι ἡτῆκει  
ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου.” (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 15.--439.) These offences were however afterwards  
forgiven, on the several expectations being fully gratified, and the Prince had his territories re-  
stored to him. A citadel was notwithstanding built in the Prince’s capital, and Craterus had the  
command of it. “Ὅτι ἐπιτηδεῖον αὐτῷ φανῆ το χωρίον εἰς το κατέχεσθαι τὰ κυκλῶ ἐθνη φυλαττομένα.”  
(Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 15.--440.) Whether Musicanus was dissatisfied with, or ill treated  
by this Grecian garrison, we are not told, but he withdrew himself and soon appeared in arms.  
The issue of the contest was soon decided, and the Indian prince was brought a prisoner by Pytho,  
who

punishment of many Brahmins, whose only crime had been that of encouraging their countrymen to defend their liberty and laws; and, in a word, the destruction of many Indian cities, which had the courage either to oppose or retard the projects of the Macedonian Monarch, are not the most decisive specimens of his clemency.

After having granted terms to one of these cities and accepted its surrender, he fell upon a part of the garrison in its march, and slaughtered the whole of the detachment. Plutarch, from whom the fact is borrowed, admits it to have been a disgraceful stain in his Hero's<sup>p</sup> life, and he confesses also, that the Macedonian Monarch put, with his own hand, Orsides to death, who had revolted against him, by piercing him with darts.<sup>q</sup>

Alexander's

who had been sent against him. The remainder of his history, is summed up by Arrian in a few lines. "Και τουτον κρεμασαι Αλεξανδρῳ κίλευει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γῇ, καὶ τῶν Βραχμανῶν ὅσοι αἰτίοι τῆς ἀποστασεως τῷ Μυσικῶν κατεσησαν." Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 17.--442.

P "Après avoir accordé la paix a une ville Indienne, ce prince retourne bientôt sur ses pas entre dans cette malheureuse cité, et en massacre tous les habitans." The following passage in Plutarch is referred to, "Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μαχιμωτάτοι μισθοφορῆντες ἐπεφοίτων ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐξωμεινῶς ἀμυνόντες, καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκακοποιούν, σπῆσαιμην ἐν τινὶ πόλει πρὸς αὐτοὺς, αἰνούντας ἐν ὁδῷ λαβῶν, ἀπαντας ἀπεκτείνειν καὶ τῆτο τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἐργοῖς αὐτῇ, τὰλλα νομιμῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντῳ, ὡς κηλὶς πρῶσεν." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera, Tom. 1.--698.) I need not, I apprehend, point out the propriety of the alteration.

q "Και τῶν ἀποστάντων Βαβυλωνίων Ὀρσιδάτην αὐτῳ κατέτοξευσεν." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera, Tom. 2.--697.) The Baron de St. Croix, in all likelihood, overlooked the passage in Plutarch, where Alexander ordered that quarter was not to be given, merely from political motives. "Φόνον μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα πολλῶν τῶν ἄλλοσκομένων γεγεσθαι συνεπέσεν· γράφει γὰρ αὐτῳ ὡς νομιζῶν αὐτῷ τῆτο λυπιτελεῖν, ἐκέλευεν ἀποσφάττεσθαι τὰς ἀνθρώπους." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera, Tom. 1.--686.



Alexander's cruelty is strongly marked by the pointed energy of the Scriptural expression, which hath lost much of its original force in its transition into another language.<sup>†</sup> The profane writers have, notwithstanding, concealed and kept back from public view the representation of the bloody scenes, which passed at a distance, though the truth sometimes escapes them, and Arrian honestly avows his inclination for very severe, as well as disproportionate punishments.<sup>‡</sup>

The Gentoo annals mention the Conqueror of Asia, and have bestowed on him the terms of "most mighty robber and murderer;"<sup>§</sup> but most of the Oriental traditions have supposed him to have been beneficent and humane. Yet the Indians in all probability formed their opinions from comparisons, and the misery, which

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they

<sup>†</sup> "Interfecit" is employed by the Vulgate, and our English version hath, "he slew the kings of the earth." Neither of these expressions may possibly convey the full sense of the "εσφαξε," the Greek word "σφαζω" or "σφαττω" being properly rendered, "maçto, jugulo, immolo."

<sup>‡</sup> "L'inclination qu'Alexandre avoit pour les executions sanguinaires." "Ου μὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁξύτερος λέγεται γενεσθαι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐς τὸ πεισεῖσθαι τε τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις, ὡς πῖθαι τοῖς ἐν παντί οὖσι· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τιμωρησασθαι μεγάλως τοὺς ἐπὶ μικροῖς ἐξέλεγχθენტας" Arrian. Lib. 7. C. 4. --483.

<sup>§</sup> "Mhaahah, Dukkoyt é Kooneah." (Holwell's interesting Events relative to the Provinces of Bengal, Part 2, 4.) We learn also from Chardin, that "les Parfes ou Guebres au lieu d'admirer ce Prince, et de reverer son nom, comme font tant d'autres peuples, le méprisent, le detestent, le maudissent, le regardent comme un pirate, un brigand, comme un homme sans justice et sans cervelle, né pour troubler l'ordre du monde et pour detruire une partie du genre humain." Voyages en Perse. Tom. 2.--185. Ed. 4<sup>to</sup>

they personally suffered, might have recalled their attention from that, which their ancestors had experienced under the Macedonian arms. Since the reign of Mahmoud in the eleventh age, who subdued India, and treated the natives with the rigour of an exasperated conqueror, and the inhumanity of a fanatic, these mild and inoffensive people have been accustomed to the horrid ravages of war, and to an unvarying repetition of pillage, flames, and bloodshed. Such were the certain and terrible effects of the different invasions of their country, and reasoning from these scourges of human life, they considered Alexander as a conqueror of extraordinary moderation, and even attributed to him the most remarkable and magnificent monuments in that vast country.\* The Persians, however, had serious and substantial reasons to consecrate the Macedonian Monarch's memory in their annals. When he became possessed of the Persian empire, prosperity had not corrupted him with its baneful influence, and the Conqueror of Darius treated his new subjects with a gentleness and lenity, till then unknown, under any violent change of government. But the condition of Persia was not improved, and it received no benefit or advantage whatever from the Grecian conquest. It continued to be governed by a despot, and suffering the vexations of rapacious officers, was also exposed to every shock of the succeeding revolutions, without having either its chains loosened, or their galling weight diminished.

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\* Zend-Avesta, par Anquetil. Tom. 1.--392.

Q. Curtius hath been accused, \* with injustice, of having written the panegyric of Alexander rather than his life, as the ingenious writer hath both frequently brought forward, and stated with impartiality, his faults and crimes. The Prince, he says, abandoned himself, after the change in his character, to a system of voluptuousness, and though the Persians could not prevail against him, he was conquered by his own vices.<sup>†</sup> Feasts, festivals, and games, became the common occupations of the Conqueror of Asia, who passed whole nights in drunkenness and debauchery.<sup>‡</sup> The same historian, in another part of his work, informs us, that Alexander's character was totally altered, and that the moderation and continence, which he had professed, were succeeded by intemperance and pride. His palace was filled with three hundred and sixty concubines, and the guard of the seraglio was composed of a troop of Eunuchs.<sup>§</sup> These anecdotes, and others of the same tendency, that are suppressed, are not usually introduced into a panegyric; and

\* Clerici Judicium de Q. Curtio. 9.

† “Sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus, militarium rerum quam quietis otique patientior; exceperere eum voluptates; et quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt.”

Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--395.

‡ “Intempestiva convivia, et perpotandi pervigilandique infana dulcedo, ludique et greges pellicum.——intempestivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque confumeret; satietatem epularum ludis interpolabat.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--395.

§ “Hic vero palam cupiditates suas solvit, continentiamque et moderationem, in altissimâ quâque fortunâ eminentia bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam vertit. Patrios mores disciplinamque Macedonum regum salubriter temperatam, et civilem habitum, velut leviora magnitudine suâ ducens; Persicæ regiæ, par Deorum potentiæ fastigium æmulabatur. Jacere humi venerabundos pati cœpit.

and we cannot rationally suppose, from them, that Alexander, even in the conflagration of his passions, was conducted by the flash of reason, that Montesquieu<sup>b</sup> hath spoken of, “which those who would fain make a romance of his history, and whose minds were more corrupt than his, could not conceal from our view.”<sup>c</sup>

Q. Curtius is undoubtedly alluded to, and he little deserves such a farcastic animadversion, for having faithfully exposed the conduct of this Prince.

Notwithstanding the charge of an unjustifiable partiality for the Macedonian Monarch in Q. Curtius, he may be suspected, on the contrary, of having imagined some circumstances, that have affected his reputation. The death of Orsines is of the number. This illustrious Persian, of high birth and dignity, made some presents, as we are told, to the Conqueror of Asia, and the principal courtiers, amongst whom Bagoas was either omitted or forgotten. The exasperated Eunuch could not pardon the indignity, and in revenge for the supposed affront, he accused Orsines of the  
pillage

*cæpit,——superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur.——Pellices C. C. C. et sexaginta, totidem qui Darii fuerant, regiam implebant, quas spadonum greges, et ipsi muliebria pati adfueti, sequebantur.”* Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--424—426.

<sup>b</sup> “Qui ceux qui avoient voulu faire un Roman de son histoire, et qui avoient l’esprit plus gaté que lui n’ont pu nous dérober.” *L’Esprit des Loix*, Lib. 10. C. 13. Tom. 1.--196.

<sup>c</sup> Nugent’s Translation, Vol. 1.--210.

pillage of the tomb of Cyrus, and assured his Royal Master, that the embezzled plunder, amounted to three thousand talents. The funeral monument was directed to be opened, and as it contained only two Scythian bows, a fabre, and a crown of gold, the Eunuch had the address to persuade Alexander of the truth of his assertions, and the unfortunate Persian was led to execution.<sup>d</sup>

The relation however of Q. Curtius, does not agree with that of any of the other historians.—Plutarch informs us, that Polymachus was condemned to death for the pillage of the tomb of Cyrus<sup>e</sup>; and Strabo believes a band of robbers were the authors of the crime, as they destroyed what they could not carry off.<sup>f</sup> Arrian pretends, that the Magi, who had the care of this monument, underwent the torture, though no discoveries were derived from it.<sup>g</sup> The last historian speaks afterwards of the punishment of Orsines, who had the government of Persia after the death of Phrafaortes, and was convicted of extortion, and of having plundered

<sup>d</sup> The story is told at some length, and with many interesting circumstances, by Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--751—755.

<sup>e</sup> “Ἐπειτα τον Κυρη ταφον διοργανωμενον, απεκτεινε τον αδικησαντα. Και τοι Πελλαισι ην ου των ασημοτατων ο πλεημελησας, ονομα Πολυμαχου.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--703.

<sup>f</sup> “Προνομευτων εργον ην, ουχι του Σατραπου, καταλιποντων α μη δυνατον ην εαδως εκκομισαι.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1061, 1062.

<sup>g</sup> “Ἀλεξανδρου δε ξυλλαβων της Μαγης της φιλακας τη ταφῃ ερεβλωσεν, ως κατειπειν της δρασαντας. οἱ δε ετε σφων ετε αλλη κατειπον σρεβλωμενοι, εδε αλλη πη ξυνηλεγχοντο ξυνειδοτες τω εργῳ.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 29.--473.



dered the temples and Royal tombs at Persepolis,<sup>b</sup> monuments at a distance from that of Cyrus, who had chosen Pasagardis<sup>1</sup> for the place of his interment. Aristobulus hath given a description of the place of sepulchre, and Arrian<sup>k</sup> hath preserved it.

The tomb of Cyrus was situated in a sacred wood, watered by springs, that fertilized the earth, which was covered with thick rich grass, and equalled that of the most beautiful meadows. In the midst of the shady trees of this sacred grove, a little edifice arose, to which only a narrow entrance opened. The ashes of Cyrus were deposited in a golden case within the building, and it contained also a couch with golden feet, a throne of gold, some splendid garments, and carpets of exquisite workmanship, swords, collars, and jewels set in gold. A collection of such riches is far from coinciding with the sense of the epitaph, which Plutarch<sup>1</sup> hath

<sup>b</sup> “Κατα Ορξίνη πολλοὶ λόγοι ἐλεχθῆσαν πρὸς Περσῶν, ὅς ηρξῆς Περσῶν, ἐπεὶ Φεραπορτὴς ἐτελεύσε· καὶ ἐξηλεγχθῆ Ορξίνης ἰεὺς τε ὅτι σεσυλήκε, καὶ ταφῆς βασιλικῆς, καὶ Περσῶν πολλὸς ὅτι καὶ ξυν δίκη ἀπεκτείνε· τῆτον μὲν δὴ οὖς ἐταχθῆ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῃ ἐκρεμάσαν·” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 30.--473.

<sup>i</sup> “Εἰς πασπαργάδας ἦκε· καὶ τῆτο δ’ ἦν βασιλεῖον ἀρχαίων· ἐνταυθα δὲ καὶ τὸν Κυρὸν ταφὸν εἶδεν ἐν παρὰδεῖσιν·” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1061.

<sup>k</sup> “Περὶ αὐτὸν ἀλσὺ ἐμπεφυτευσθαι δένδρων παντοίων, καὶ ὑδατὶ εἶναι καταρρεῦτον καὶ ποτὴν βαθεῖαν πεφυκεῖναι ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι————— ἀνωθεν δὲ οἰκημα ἐπεῖναι λιθίνον ἐξεργασμένον, θυρεῖδα ἔχον φερεσθαι ἐσω γέννην, ὡς μοῖλις ἀν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ μεγάλῳ, πολλὰ κακοπαθεῖντι παρελθεῖν· ἐν δὲ τῷ οἰκηματὶ πυλὸν χρυσῆν κεισθαι, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα τῷ Κυρὶ ἐτεταπτο, καὶ κλινὴν παρὰ τῇ πυλῶν· ποδάς δὲ εἶναι τῇ κλινῇ χρυσοῦς σφυρηλατῆς, καὶ ταπητὰ ἐπιβλημάτων Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ καίνακας πορφύρεας ὑπορρυνυσθαι· ἐπεῖναι δὲ καὶ κανδύς, καὶ ἄλλης χιτῶνας τῆς βαβυλωνίᾳ ἐργασίας· καὶ ἀναξυρίδες Μηδικαὶ καὶ σολαὶ ὑακινθινόβαρες λέγει ὅτι ἐκείνῳ————— καὶ σφραῖποι καὶ ἀκινάκαι, καὶ ἐνωτικὰ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητὰ· καὶ τραπεζὰ ἐκείνῳ·” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 29.--470, 471.

<sup>1</sup> “ὦ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΕ, ΟΣΤΙΣ ΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΘΕΝ ἦΚΕΙΣ (ὍΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ἮΨΕΙΣ ΟΙΔΑ) ΕΓΩ ΚΥΡΟΣ

hath transmitted to us. “Whoever thou art, and whensoever thou comest, for come thou wilt, I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire; envy me not the little earth that covers my remains!” The modesty of this inscription, in all probability, suggested to Xenophon a hint for his speech of Cyrus, a few moments before he expired.<sup>m</sup> “My children, when I am no more, neither enclose my body in gold nor silver, commit it as soon as possible to the earth, for there cannot be a greater happiness than to mingle with the dust.”

{ By the Persian customs, their kings had only the honour of sepulchres,<sup>n</sup> and their tombs, which are still existing, are situated to the East of the mountain of Istakhar, and have no resemblance with that, which Aristobulus hath described, no more than those of Naxi-Rustan.<sup>o</sup> The sacred wood, with which he surrounds the tomb of Cyrus, betrays the falsity of the description. This

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ΚΥΡΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ 'Ο ΠΕΡΣΑΙΣ ΚΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ· ΜΗ ΟΥΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΛΙΓΗΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΦΘΟΝΗΣΗΣ, 'Η ΤΟΥΜΟΝ ΣΩΜΑ ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΙ.” (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--703.) Strabo (Lib. 15.--1062.) and Arrian (Lib. 6. C. 29.--472.) vary the concluding sentence of this epitaph. The former reads “Μη ε φθονσεις,” and the latter “Μη ε φθονει μοι τς μνηματς.” which is more consistent with the relation of Aristobulus. Perhaps, however, the whole is a mere fiction.

<sup>m</sup> “Το δ'εμον σωμα, ω παιδες, όταν τελευτησω, μητε εν χρυδω, θητε, μητε εν αργυρω, μηδε εν αλλω μηδενι· αλλα τη γη ως ταχιστα αποδοτε· τι γαρ ταυτε μακαριωτερον, τε γη μιχθηναι.” Xenophon. Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--658. 4<sup>to</sup> Oxon. 1727.

<sup>n</sup> Hyde. De Religione Veterum Persarum. C. 34.

<sup>o</sup> See the observations of Monsieur Caylus, Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 29.--144.—Voyages de Le Bruyn, Tom. 4.--393.—Chardin. Tom. 2.--162.

mode of burial was not in use in Persia, and the Grecian custom of interring their dead in shady groves<sup>p</sup> is introduced amongst a people, who were utter strangers to such rites. The pretended riches in the tomb of Cyrus have also been imagined from the common tales, which Aristobulus incautiously adopted. Q. Curtius hath taken care to undeceive us, and we are told by him, that Alexander expressed his surprise, on finding such a powerful monarch as Cyrus, had been interred with so little magnificence and pomp.<sup>q</sup>

Arrian informs us, that Cambyfes committed the custody of his father's Mausoleum to the Magi, who received a daily allowance of a sheep, a measure of flour, and one of wine, and every month a horse, which composed the sacrifices to the shades of Cyrus.<sup>r</sup>

This

<sup>p</sup> Vangoens. Diatribe de Cepotaph. C. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>q</sup> "Auro argentoque repletum esse crediderat, quippe ita fama Persæ vulgaverant; sed præter clypeum ejus putrem, et Arcus duos Scythicos, et acinacem, nihil reperit. Ceterum corona aurea imposita amiculo, cui adfueverat ipse, folium, in quo corpus jacebat, velavit; miratus tanti nominis regem, tantis præditum opibus, haud pretiosius sepultum esse, quam si fuisset e plebe." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--754.) I have omitted the "Alexandre, selon cet ecivain, en reconnut la fausseté," as I am not able to discover any direct authority for this opinion, and such an acknowledgment would have left Alexander no pretext whatever for the punishment of Orsines, which Q. Curtius immediately relates. The crafty Eunuch naturally took advantage of his Master's surprise, which might arise even from his disappointment, and the unity of the piece, whether real or fictitious, is by these means preserved.

<sup>r</sup> "Εἶναι δὲ ἐν τῷ τε περιβόλῳ, πρὸς τὴν ἀναβάσει τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον φέρησιν, οἰκημα σμικρὸν τοῖς Μαγοῖς ποιοιμῆμενον, οἱ δὲ ἐφυλάσσον τὸν Κυρῆ τάφον, ἐπὶ ἀπὸ Καμβύσου τε Κυρῆ, πᾶσι παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχομένοι τὴν φυλακὴν. Καὶ τοῦτοις πρῶτον τε ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδετο ἐκ βασιλείας, καὶ ἀλευρὸν τε καὶ οἶνον τεταγμένα, καὶ ἵππῳ κατὰ μῆνα ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Κυρῷ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 29.--471.

This account is certainly erroneous. ¶ The Persians never admitted their departed heroes into the number of their Deities, but their religious opinions are as incorrectly spoken of in Q. Curtius. Darius there sacrifices to the local Divinities of Cilicia,\* and Arrian† is equally exceptionable, when he supposes Jupiter to have been addressed by the Persians, who were neither acquainted with his name nor worship. In their defence, it may be observed, that they were perhaps seduced by the most celebrated authors of antiquity, who were as ignorant and mistaken on the subject of the religion of this people.™

Harpalus escaped by flight, and avoided the punishment which Orsines suffered. This Macedonian officer, during the life of Philip, had been intimately connected with his Son, and when Alexander mounted the throne, he had the treasury under his  
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\* “Ipse in jugum editi montis adscendit, multifque conluentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium Diis præsidibus loci fecit.” Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1.--110.

† “Επι τοις δε ανατειναι Δαρείον ες τον Ουρανον τας χειρας, κ̅ ευχασθαι ὡδε. Αλλ’ω Ζευ βασιλευ, ὁτω επιτετραπται νεμειν τα βασιλεων πραγματα εν ανθρωποις, συ νυν μαλιστα μεν εμοι φυλαξον Περσων τε κ̅ Μηδων την αρχην, ὡσπερ ην κ̅ εδωκας” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 20.--308.

™ The Greeks, as the Baron de St. Croix very justly observes, wished to impose their religious tenets (“Faire helleniser en matiere de religion” is his expression) on all the nations of the earth. In the happy possession of arts, sciences, and literature, with a singular absurdity, they both invented and propagated the strangest inconsistencies; and with a few grains of allowance, the reproach of Lactantius, to one of their first-rate authors may be transferred, without much apprehension of impropriety, to their writers of almost every class. “Quorum lævitas instructa dicendi facultate et copiâ incredibile est quantas mendaciorum nebulas excitaverit.” (De Falsâ Religione. Lib. 1.) If we are to believe the modern travellers, the Greeks of our days have not degenerated.

direction. But the gratitude of Harpalus was not equal to the new Monarch's patronage and confidence, and listening to the pernicious counsels of Tauriscus, he misbehaved in such a manner, that, from apprehensions of personal danger, he fled to Megaris, a little before the battle of Issus.<sup>x</sup> Alexander pardoned him, prevailed on him to return,<sup>y</sup> and after placing him at the head of his finances, again intrusted him with the treasury at Ecbatana.<sup>z</sup> It is necessary to state these facts with accuracy, which Arrian hath preserved, because they throw a degree of light on the conduct of Harpalus, with which the other historians have not furnished us. All of them suppress his first offence, which should be specified, to prevent its being confounded with the crime, of which he was afterwards guilty. The news of the rigid and exemplary chastisement, that Alexander had inflicted on the governors, convicted of extortion and oppression in the provinces during his absence, had already reached the ears of Harpalus, whose conduct was not free from censure and suspicion. Unable to face the gathering

<sup>x</sup> "Ολίγον δε προσθεν της μάχης της εν Ισσω γενομένης, αναπεισθεὶς πρὸς Ταυρίσκου Ἀρπαλῶ, φεύγει ἔνυ Ταυρίσκῳ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--192.

<sup>y</sup> "Ἀρπαλῶ δε ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι φυγῇ ην' ἀλλ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πείθει αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν, πῶς εἰς δόυσιν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μείον εἶσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ· οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἐπαμειβόμενός, ἀλλ' ἔπει τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ ἐταχθῇ Ἀρπαλῶ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--192.

<sup>z</sup> "Προσεταιξέ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν κομιζόμενα, εἰς τὴν ἀκρὰν τὴν ἐν Εὐβατανοῖς καταθεσθαι, καὶ Ἀρπαλῶ παραδουναί." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 19.--227.) It is difficult to decide on the greatness of the indiscretion, or the generosity of such a confidence: we might be tempted, in the words of Valerius Maximus, to make the vigorous exclamation, "O! fiduciam non solum fortem sed pene etiam temerariam, quæ,—acerrimis odiis latera sua cingere ausa est, usumque ministerii vix tutum in amicis, e sinu inimicorum petere sustinuit." Lib. 3. C. 7.



thering storm, this guilty and ungrateful minister again fled with an escort of six thousand men, that he entertained in his pay, and took refuge at Athens, with a part of the immense treasures that he had embezzled.<sup>a</sup> Q. Curtius relates,<sup>b</sup> that the Macedonian Monarch “received letters of advice, that Harpalus had indeed entered Athens, and by large sums gained the chief citizens; notwithstanding which, in an assembly of the people, he had been commanded to leave the town, whereupon he retired to the Greek soldiers, who seized him, and that he was afterwards treacherously killed by a certain traveller.”<sup>c</sup> It is extraordinary that a prisoner, and surrounded by a body of troops, should have been assassinated by an unknown traveller, and little credit is certainly due to such an anecdote.

Harpalus was undoubtedly obliged to quit Athens, as Diodorus Siculus assures<sup>d</sup> us, and we may easily conjecture from the circumstances,

<sup>a</sup> “Ἀρπαλὺς δὲ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θησαυρῶν καὶ τῶν προσόδων τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένῳ, ἐπειδὴν ταχίστα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐξεστειλέεν, ἀπεγὼν τὴν ἐπανοδὸν αὐτοῦ· δὲς δ’ αὐτὸν εἰς τρυφὴν, ————— τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς ὕδρεις γυναικῶν καὶ παρνομοῖς ἐρωτᾶς Βαβυλωνίων ἐξέλεσθαι· καὶ πολλὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀκτέλεισθαις ἡδοναῖς κατηγάγων· ————— τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπανοδὸν πολλὰς τῶν σατραπῶν κατηγορηθέντας ἀνελόντῳ, φοβηθεὶς τὴν τιμωρίαν, καὶ συσκευασάμενῳ ἀργυρίῳ μὲν ταλάντα πεντάκισχιλια, μισθοφόρους δ’ ἀθροίσας ἑξακισχιλίους, ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.) The five thousand talents, according to Lempriere’s calculation, amount to £968,750, of our money.

<sup>b</sup> “Literæ ei redduntur; Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos: mox concilio plebis habito iussu urbe excedere, ad Græcos milites pervenisse, a quibus interceptum et trucidatum a quodam viatore per infidias.” Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 2.--760.

<sup>c</sup> Digby’s Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--174, 175.

<sup>d</sup> “Ἐξαιτῶμεν δὲ ἐπ’ Ἀντιπατρὸς καὶ Ολυμπιάδῳ, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα διαδὸς τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν δημηγοροῦσι, διεδρα.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.

stances, which Plutarch mentions on the exile of Demosthenes, that he was not attended by his men to Athens.<sup>e</sup> When he left this city, he joined them at Tænarus in Laconia, where they had been stationed,<sup>f</sup> and he afterwards retired into the island of Crete, where Thimbron, one of his associates, who afterwards possessed himself of Cyrene, retaliated his treason on him, and slew him.<sup>g</sup> This Thimbron was certainly the traveller of Q. Curtius, and he is guilty of an anachronism, in fixing the death of Harpalus before that of Alexander. Arrian asserts, that the faithless treasurer of the Macedonian Monarch survived his master, and Diodorus Siculus may possibly add some strength to his evidence.<sup>h</sup> The saying

<sup>e</sup> It is a reasonable inference from Plutarch's silence, who mentions only Harpalus. The history of his reception at Athens merits some attention. "Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ζητοῦντες εὐθὺς ἐποφθαλμιάσαντες πρὸς τὸν πλῆτον, ἐβόηδ' ἐν, καὶ συνεπειθόντες Ἀθηναίους δεχέσθαι καὶ σώζειν τὸν ἰκέτην· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελευθερὶν συνεβόλευς τὸν Ἀρπαλόν, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλλωσιν εἰς πολέμον, ἐξ οὐκ ἀνελικίας καὶ ἀδίκῃ προφάσει." Twenty talents, however, (£3974) and a cup of great value, totally changed the question, and the trimming Orator, by a convenient hoarseness, had the next day lost his voice. The wits of Athens termed it a Silver Quinsy. "Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν εὐ καλῶς ἔργοις καὶ ταινίαις κατὰ τὴν τραγῳδίαν κατελιξάμενοι, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσήλθε· καὶ κελευόντων ἀνίστασθαι καὶ λέγειν, διενευσεν ὡς ἀποκεκομμένης αὐτῷ τῆς φωνῆς· οἱ δ' εὐφροὺς κλευσζόντες, ἐκ ὕπο συνάκης ἐφραζόν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἈΡΓΥΡΑΓΧΗΣ εἰληφθῆαι νυκτῶρ τὸν Δημαγωγόν." De Vit. Demost. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--857.

<sup>f</sup> "Κατ' ἑνὲν εἰς ταῖναρον πρὸς τοὺς μισθοφόρους."—He had before expressly said, "τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἀπελίπε πρὸς ταῖναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.

<sup>g</sup> "Διχαλαμῶσαι δὲ ὡς Θιβρων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀρπαλόν (τὸν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χρεμάτα, ζώντων ἐκεῖνον, ἀρπασάντα, καὶ φυγόντα πρὸς τὰς Ἀθῆνας) τέτον ἐκεῖνον ἀποκτείνεις, καὶ ὅσα ἀπελιπετο λαβὼν χρεμάτα πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ Κυθωνίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐσάλη." Photii Biblioth. 217.

<sup>h</sup> Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.—The Baron de St. Croix's expression is, "Il est démontré par le témoignage de Diodore et d'Arrien." I have been under the necessity of lowering its import, as Diodorus Siculus does not demonstrate what the Baron de St. Croix imagined. He takes up again the history of Harpalus in the eighteenth book, but without fixing the precise time

faying also of Diogenes, who died in the same year with Alexander, which Cicero<sup>i</sup> hath left us, confirms the account of the Greek historian. The Cynic philosopher made a practice of citing Harpalus, as an instance of the inattention of the Gods, and reproached them with their long connivance at the happiness and good fortune of the traitor.—The expulsion of Harpalus from the Attic territories, may be dated in the third year of the 113<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, in the Archonship of Chremes,<sup>k</sup> two years before the death of Alexander. Usher<sup>l</sup> supposes, with some probability, the assassination of Harpalus to have happened the year after his Master's death, and 323 years before Christ, when Cephisodorus was Archon. The Jesuit Petau<sup>m</sup> includes the flight and death of Harpalus in the same year, but he relies on Arrian and Diodorus Siculus for his authority, and Arrian directly contradicts him.—Alexander's intention of returning into Europe, is not mentioned  
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time of the events which he relates. “*Ἀρπαλὸς γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας δάσμον ποιήσας, καὶ καταλυσαντὸς εἰς Κρητὴν μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ βίβλῳ δεικνύμενον, ὁμοφρονῶν εἰς τὴν φίλων νομιζομένην, δολοφονήσας τὸν Ἀρπαλόν, κυρίως ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἱπτακισχιλίων*” (Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--272.) From this passage it might even be supposed that Harpalus was assassinated soon after his escape into Asia.

<sup>i</sup> “Diogenes quidem Cynicus, dicere solebat, Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo felix habebatur, contra Deos testimonium dicere, quod in illâ fortunâ tam diu viveret.” Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, Lib. 3. Tom. 2.--514.

<sup>k</sup> Corfini. Fast. Attic. Tom. 4.--40.

<sup>l</sup> Usserii Annales. 215. Folio. Genev. 1722.

<sup>m</sup> Petav. Doct. Temp. Lib. 13. Tom. 2.--597. “L'autorité de Diodore et d'Arrien sur lesquels il s'appuie lui sont absolument contraires.” I have varied the expression for it was not warranted.

by any historian, Q. Curtius excepted, and its execution must have been at that time very prejudicial to the Prince's interest, who had just met with a severe misfortune in the loss of Hephæstion, and was in great affliction for him. We are told by some authors that Glaucias, the unfortunate physician was crucified,<sup>n</sup> that Alexander conducted in person the car, which conveyed Hephæstion's remains to the tomb, and that the temple of Æsculapius at Ecbatana, was by his orders razed to the ground. It is also said, that the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon was applied to, and consulted on the propriety of divine honours to the Favourite.<sup>o</sup> It is however doubtful, if Æsculapius was known at Ecbatana, and Arrian hath judiciously rejected these absurd marks of regret, which he considers as indecent in a Sovereign, and more adapted to the character of a Barbarian.<sup>p</sup>

Plutarch and some other writers,<sup>a</sup> appear to have compiled these

<sup>n</sup> “Οἱ δὲ, καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς Γλαυκίαν ὅτι ἐκρεμάσας, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἐπὶ φαρμακῷ κακῶς δοθέντι·———οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄμμα ἐφ’ ὅτῳ τὸ σῶμα ἐφερέτο, αὐτῷ ἐσὶν ὅτε ἥνιοχαι τοῦτο·———ἄλλοι δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἱδὸς ἐν Ἐκβάτανοις κατὰ σκαψαὶ ἐκέλευσε.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--509, 510.

<sup>o</sup> “Οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἀμμωνῶν ἐπέμψεν, ἐρησομένους τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰ καὶ ὡς Θεῷ θύειν συγχωρεῖ Ἡφαίστιον.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--510.

<sup>p</sup> “Οὐδ’ αὖ μὴ πιστὸν ἐμοί γε λέγοντες·———Βαβυλωνίαν δὲ τῆτο, καὶ ἑδάμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσφορὸν.” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--509. 510.) Ælian and Plutarch, whilst they report the facts, admit their impropriety. “Ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῦτα ἐπεὶ δεῖ βαβυλωνίως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡδῆ.” (Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 1.--486.) “Ταῦτα μὲν ἂν·———ἐδεμίας χάριτος ἦν ἂν ἐδε τιμῆς, οἷον δὲ βαβυλωνίως, καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐπιδειξίς ἐἰς κενὰ καὶ ἀζηλὰ τὴν περιστάσαν διατιθεμένων.” (De Vit. Pelopid. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--296, 297.) Justin hath also “Quem contra decus regium Alexander diu luxit.” Lib. 12. C. 12.--335.

<sup>a</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 1.--483-487.--Luc. Calumn. non tem. cred. Tom. 3.--147, 148.

these fables without any judgment, but the Greek philosophical historian assures us also, that Alexander levelled the battlements and parapets on the walls of the neighbouring cities, and cut off the hair of the horses and mules.<sup>r</sup> This last species of mourning is not in the least improbable, as it was a Persian custom, which he might have followed, and the army of Mardonius, from the same respectful motives, clipped their horses and other beasts of burthen on the death of Mafistius.<sup>s</sup> Diodorus Siculus<sup>t</sup> informs us, that Alexander went still farther, and commanded the Asiatics to extinguish their sacred fire, which was only customary on the decease of the kings of Persia. This writer adds likewise, that Hephæstion died from the consequences of intemperance at Ecbatana,<sup>w</sup> and not at

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<sup>r</sup> “Αλεξάνδρῳ ὁ μέγας, Ἡφαισιῶν ἀποθάνοντι, εἰ μόνον ἵππους ἐκείρε καὶ ἡμίονους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπαλξίεις ἀφείλε των τειχῶν, ὥς ἂν δοκοῖεν αἱ πόλεις πενθεῖν.” (De Vit. Pelopid. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1. --296.) “Τὸτο ἔδενι λογισμῷ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αλεξάνδρου ἡγεγεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς μὲν ἵππους τε κείρει πάντας ἐπὶ πενθεῖ, καὶ ἡμίονους ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ των περὶ πόλεων ἀφείλεν τὰς ἐπαλξίεις.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

<sup>s</sup> “Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππης ἐς τὸ στρατοπέδον, πενθόντι ἐποίησαντο Μασισίη πασὰ τε ἡ στρατὴ καὶ Μαρδονίου μέγιστον σφέας τε αὐτὸς κείροντες, καὶ τῆς ἵππης καὶ τὰ ὑπόζυγια, οἰκωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλετῶ.” Herod. Lib. 9.--702.

<sup>t</sup> “Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκῶσι προσεταξέ το παρὰ τοῖς Περσῶσι ἱερὸν πυρ καλεῖμενον ἐπιμειλῶς σβεσαι, μέχρι ἀν τελευτῇ τὴν ἐκφορὰν· τὸτο δὲ εἰώθεισαν οἱ Περσῶν ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τελευτάς.” Dioid. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--250.

<sup>w</sup> “Διήγουσιν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας·—ἐν οἷς Ἡφαισιῶν ἀκαίροις μεθαις χρησαμένων, καὶ περιπέσων πρῶτως, τοῦ εἰόν κατέλιπεν.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--247.) Plutarch is rather more circumstantial. “Ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας·—εὐτυχέ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας Ἡφαισιῶν πυρρῶσιν· οἷα δὲ νεῶν καὶ στρατιωτικῶν, εἰ φέρων ἀκριβῆ διαίτην, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν ἱατρὸν Γλαυκὸν ἀπεί-

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Babylon, which was reported,<sup>\*</sup> as appears from Polyænus.<sup>γ</sup> The details, into which Diodorus Siculus hath entered, respecting the pompous funeral, that Alexander bestowed on his Favourite, and the sumptuous monument, which he erected to his memory, are liable to less objection, as they agree with the rules of art.<sup>z</sup> Iphippus of Olinthus, composed a work on the deaths of Alexander and Hephæstion,<sup>a</sup> and Diodorus Siculus appears to have extracted his information from it.

The Conqueror of Asia advanced towards Babylon, and the deputies of numerous and distant nations, met him with congratulations on his different successes. Lybians, Carthaginians, Brutians, Lucanians, Tuscans, Scythians, Celts, and people, who had scarcely ever heard of the Macedonian name, hastened to offer their homage<sup>b</sup> to the Conqueror of the East, or rather to his fortune.

ΘΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΘΙ, ΚΥ ΚΑΤΑΦΑΓΩΝ ΑΛΕΚΤΡΥΟΝΑ ΕΦΘΟΝ, ΚΥ ΨΥΚΤΗΣΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ ΕΚΠΙΩΝ ΟΙΟΥ, ΚΑΚΩΣ ΕΣΧΕΝ, ΚΥ ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΔΙΑΛΙΠΩΝ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

\* “Comme Justin et Polyen l’ont faullement avance.” I have been again under the disagreeable necessity of deviating from the French sentence. With respect to Justin, the charge is totally without foundation. “Dum hæc aguntur, unus ex amicis ejus Hephæstion decedit,” (Lib. 12. C. 12.--335.) is his account of the Favourite’s death, in which Babylon, is neither mentioned nor referred to.

γ “Ἦκεν τις ἀγγέλλων Ἡφαιστίων ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεθνηκεν.” (Polyænus. Lib. 4. C. 3.--354.) I flatter myself the “Ἦκεν τις ἀγγέλλων” will justify the alteration that I have made.

z Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--250, 251.—Hist. de l’Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 31.--76. Their confused ornaments, the Baron de St. Croix hath, notwithstanding, already criticised.

a Athenæus. Lib. 4. Tom. 1.--146.

b “Babylonem ad Alexandrum ex omnibus fere orbis terrarum partibus legati venerunt. Nam præter eos quos Asiæ nationes, civitates et principes miserant; etiam multi ex Africâ et Europâ legati

fortune. Diodorus Siculus<sup>c</sup> declares in general terms, that the inhabitants of the extensive country, between the northern sides of the Adriatic gulph and the pillars of Hercules, dispatched ambassadors to him. Aristus and Asclepiades,<sup>d</sup> have left an account of the audience given to the Roman envoys, and tell us, that Alexander, having learnt from them many particulars, relating to their government and manners, predicted the future greatness of the Roman empire. Clitarchus adopted, with his usual credulity, the embassy.<sup>e</sup> Arrian suspects it with reason,<sup>f</sup> and gives

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gati accesserunt. Ex Africâ, ab Hammoniis, Æthiopibus, Carthaginienfibus cæterisque Pænis, et cunctis qui mare usque ad Columnas Herculis accolebant. Ex Europâ, a Græcorum civitatibus et Macedonibus, Thracibus, Illyriis et Scythis, Brutiis quoque Lucanis, ac Tuscis Italiam colentibus, Siciliæ et Sardinia insulis; ab Hispanis etiam ac Gallis, quorum nomina ac cultum tum primum Macedones cognoverunt.” Ufferii Annales. 207.

<sup>c</sup> “Χωρίς γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐθνῶν, καὶ πολεμῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δυναστῶν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης κατήντησαν· ἐκ μὲν Λιβύης Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Λιβυφοίνικες, καὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν παραλίον οἰκῶντες μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλειῶν γῆλων.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--249.

<sup>d</sup> “Ἀγιστὸν δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀναγκασάντων, καὶ Ῥωμαῖς λείβειν ὅτι ἐπιστεύσαν· καὶ ἰντυχόντα ταῖς πρῆσθαις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων τι τῆς ἐσομένης ἐς τὸ πᾶντα δυναμείας μαντεύσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τὸν ἀνδρῶν ἰδόντα καὶ τὸ φιλοπονεῖν καὶ ἐλευθερίον, καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολιτευματὸς ἀμὰ διαπυνθανόμενον.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 15.--514.

<sup>e</sup> “Clitarchus——legationem——ad Alexandrum missam.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 3. Tom. 1.--324.

<sup>f</sup> “Καὶ τὸτο ὅτι ὡς ἀτρέκεις, ὅτι ὡς ἀπίστον παντὶ ἀνεγείνα· πλὴν γὰρ δὴ ὅτι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς πρῆσθαις ταύτης, ὡς παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ φάσεισης, μνημὴν ἐποίησατο τινα, ὅδε τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γράσαντων (οἷς τίσι μαλλόν ἐγὼ ξυμφοροῦμαι) Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγὺς καὶ Ἀριστοβούλος· ὅδε τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτευματικῶν, ἐλευθερῶν δὴ τότε ἐς τὰ μαλίστα ὄντι, παρὰ βασιλεὺς αλλοφύλων, ἀλλῶς τε καὶ ἐς τοσοῦδε ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας πρῆσθαις, ὅτι φόβος ἐξαναγκάζοντ’· ὅτι κατ’ ἐλπίδα ὠφελείας, μισοῖ τε, εἴπερ τινὰς ἀλλῶς, τὸ τυραννικὸν γένος τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ κατεχόμενος.” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 15.--514.) Titus Livy is of opinion, that even the Fame of Alexander’s exploits, had not reached Rome. “Quem ne fama quidem illis notum arbitror fuisse.” Lib. 9. C. 18. Tom. 2.--908.

little credit to this strange catalogue of people, supposed to have sent deputies to Alexander, which he only speaks of as a common report, deserving no attention in his work. The refutation of fables does not fall within the province of history, it ought to be founded only on an assemblage of truth or probabilities: a critical examination of facts, is the scaffolding of the building.

✕ Amongst the projects, which Alexander had in view after his return from his Indian expedition, Q. Curtius supposes one very apposite to the character of the Macedonian Monarch, but the means of carrying it into execution, can only have been imagined by the Latin historian. The governors of Mesopotamia, as we are told by him, were ordered to cut down the wood on mount Libanus, from whence it was to be transported to Thapsacus. A number of seven oared vessels were designed to be constructed there, and they were afterwards to drop down to the sea by Babylon,<sup>c</sup> and to form a Macedonian fleet. Thapsacus was situated on the Euphrates, at the distance of four thousand eight hundred stadia from Babylon, according to the calculations of Hipparchus, but Eratosthenes reduces the distance,<sup>d</sup> and the former writer afterwards

<sup>c</sup> “Mesopotamiæ prætoribus imperavit, materia in Libano monte cæsa, devesaque ad urbem Syriæ Thapsacum, ingentium carinas navium ponere: septiremes omnes esse, deducique Babylonem.” Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--749, 750.

<sup>d</sup> “Ἀπο Βαβυλωνῶν εἰς Θαψακὸν εἶναι σταδίας τετρακισχίλιαις οκτακοσίας” (Strabo. Lib. 2.--130.) This seems to have been the opinion of Hipparchus: Eratosthenes differs with him. “Οὐτ’ ἀπεφηνάτο ὕδαμι Εὐρατοσθένους τὴν Θαψακὸν τῆς Βαβυλωνῶν πρὸς ἀγκυρὰς κεισθῆναι πλεουσιν ἢ τετρακισχίλιαις καὶ πεντακοσίοις

wards reckons three thousand stadia, from Babylon to the mouths of the Euphrates.<sup>i</sup> Reasoning from nautical principles, on the proportions, which the ancients allowed to their seven oared galleys,<sup>k</sup> they must have drawn thirty-nine feet eight inches of water, nearly what the modern three deckers of 100 guns require, and it is not possible to believe that in the Euphrates, at such a distance from the sea, there could have been a depth of water for vessels of that burthen. At this distance also from the sea, the assistance of the tide to float them must undoubtedly have been wanting. Polybius<sup>l</sup> informs us, that the Euphrates was very low in winter, though it was increased in the summer-months from the melting of the snow upon the mountains; but as the water of the river, during the heat of summer, was diverted into a thousand channels, for the purpose of refreshing the country, the stream of the Euphrates could be scarcely navigable, and still less adequate to the transport of troops, and the various stores and implements of war.

The

πεντακοσίοις σταδίοις” (Strabo. Lib. 2.--131.) The Baron de St. Croix supposed them to have agreed.

<sup>i</sup> “Εντεθεν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῆς Εὐφράτης ————— τρεῖς χίλιαι” Strabo. Lib. 2.--134.

<sup>k</sup> Scheffer. De Milit. Nav. Vet. Lib. 1. C. 4.

<sup>l</sup> “Συμβαίνει, τὴν ὑπεραντιαν φύσιν εἶναι τὸν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις αὐξάνει τὸ ρεύμα, καθ’ οὗς ἀνὰ πλείους διαφερόνται τόποι· καὶ μεγίστοι μὲν εἰσι κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ταπεινότεροι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους· ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλείους γίνεται τῷ ρευματι κατὰ Κυρίῳ ἐπιτολῇ, καὶ μεγίστη ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Συρίαν τοποῖς· αἱ δὲ προῖων ἐλατῶν· αἰτίον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι συμβαίνει, τὴν μὲν αὐξήσιν ἔκ ἐκ τῆς συρρύσεως τῶν χειμερίων ὀμβρῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀνατήξεως τῶν χιονῶν γίνεσθαι· τὴν δὲ μείωσιν διὰ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ τὸν μερισμὸν αὐτῆς τὸν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρδεύσεις. Ἡ καὶ τότε βραδείαν συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὴν κομὴν τῶν δυνάμεων, αἵτε καταγομῶν μὲν ὄντων τῶν πλοίων, ταπεινότερα δὲ τὰ ποταμῶν, καὶ τελευτῶς ἔσχατον τὴν συρρύσεως τῆς τῷ ρευματι βίας πρὸς τὸν πλῆθος” Polybius. Lib. 9. C. 43. Tom. 3.--181.



The Armenians, on this account, when they descended as low as Babylon, made use of little osier boats which they covered with skins,<sup>m</sup> and even in the place, intended for the dock-yard of the seven oared gallies, there was a ford, when the Macedonian army crossed the Euphrates to enter Mesopotamia.<sup>n</sup> The whole therefore proves, that the project instead of being Alexander's, was only the imaginary one of Q. Curtius.<sup>o</sup>

The predictions of Calanus, of the soothsayer Pythagoras, and those of the Chaldæans, as well as a multitude of other presages, which announced the dissolution of the Conqueror of Asia, have been

<sup>m</sup> “Τὰ πλοία αυτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευομένα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα εὐτὰ κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκυτῖνα· ἔπειαν γάρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατυπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νόμας ἰτέης ταμνομένοι ποισσώνται, περιτενεύσι τούτοις διφθέραις γεγαυρίδας ἐξῶθεν, ἐδάφεθ' τροπὸν, ἢτε πρῶμην ἀποκρίνοντες ἢτε πρῶμην συναγόντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδ' ἐθ' τροπὸν κυκλοτερέα ποισσάντες, καὶ καλαμῆς πλῆσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τούτῳ, ἀπί-  
ασι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φερεσθαι, φορτίων πλῆσαντες.” Herod. Lib. 1.--92.

<sup>n</sup> “Il y avoit au milieu de ce fleuve un gué, lorsque l'armée Macedonienne traversa l'Euphrate pour entrer dans la Mesopotamie.” The Baron de St. Croix, for the proof of this assertion, refers his readers to the seventh chapter of the third book of Arrian. I cannot pretend to reconcile either the “Καταλαμβάνει δύοιν γεφυραῖν ἐξεῖμμενον τὸν πορὸν” or the “Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ οὐ ζυνε-  
χῆς ἡ γεφυρά πῃ ἐξευγμένη ἐστὶ τε δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν οὐχθὴν, τοῖς Μακεδόσι δειμαίνουσι μὴ ἐπιθῶντο οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαζαῖον τὴν γεφυρά, ἵνα ἐπαυετο” with his construction. The “Καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἐφυγε Μαζαῖος, ἐπιβλή-  
θησαν αἱ γεφυραὶ τῇ οὐχθῇ τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ διεβῆ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ζυν τῇ στρατίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρος.” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--193.) is in a more peremptory style of contradiction.

<sup>o</sup> Yet Aristobulus relates, according to Arrian, the descent of some vessels of burthen from Thapfacus to Babylon. “Κατελάβε δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστοβύλος, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Εὐφρατὴν ποταμὸν ἀναπεπλευκὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Περσικῆς——τὸ δὲ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνακεκομισμῆνον, πιντήρεις μὲν δύο τῶν ἐκ Φοινίκων, τέτταρες δὲ τρεῖς, τρεῖς δὲ δώδεκα, τριακοντοῦρες δὲ ἐς τριακοντα· ταύ-  
τας ζυντηθείσας κομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφρατὴν ποταμὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Θάψακον πόλιν· ἐκεῖ δὲ ζυμπηχθεῖ-  
σας αὐτῶς καταπλεῖσαι ἐς Βαβυλῶνα.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 19.--522, 523.



been represented in melancholy and sombre colours by the historians, to render, according to Plutarch's ideas,<sup>p</sup> the last concluding scene of Alexander's life more striking and pathetic, and to give it a tragical effect, both productive of terror and of pity. Such attempts are, notwithstanding, more proper for the stage, as Polybius hath ably remarked in his observations on the death of Agathocles,<sup>q</sup> and the historians who related it. The same observations are applicable to the writers of the life of Alexander, though they may be entitled to some indulgence. The incertitude of all sublunary things, hath been, in every age, a favourite subject of mournful declamation, and the sudden and instantaneous exchange of a throne for the dreary grave, is frequently dwelt upon with a gloomy consolation, as it levels all distinctions, and reduces the monarch and the subject to the same equality.

The disastrous omens, which preceded the death of the Conqueror of Asia, were not invented by the historians, and Plutarch is not justified in such suggestions. The different predictions, to which superstition lent afterwards its aid, were circulated with officious industry, by almost all the governors of the conquered provinces; in some instances from motives of interest, in others from apprehensions for their personal security. Conscious of many acts of extortion and  
oppression,

<sup>p</sup> "Ὅπως δράματι τοῦ μεγάλου τραγικὸν ἐξόδιον καὶ περιπαθεῖς πλάσαντες" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

<sup>q</sup> Polybius. Lib. 15. C. 33, 34. Tom. 3.--562. The sentiments of Polybius will not admit of abbreviation: by an introduction of them at length, I might offend against the very rules, which the judicious author lays down, in the passages that are referred to.

oppression, that Alexander in similar employments had severely punished, they naturally wished to keep their master at a distance, and to prevent, as long as they were able, his return to the capital, where his leisure would have afforded him an opportunity of investigating their conduct, from which they had every thing to fear. Under these circumstances, Appolodorus of Amphipolis, who had the command at Babylon, prevailed upon his brother Pythagoras the soothsayer to favour his designs, and he discovered, with obsequious ingenuity, portentous appearances in the entrails of the victims, which forbade the Macedonian Monarch's entry into the city.\*

The Chaldæan priests had also serious reasons of alarm, and they seconded the governor's endeavours from the same principles, which Arrian hath explained to us. Xerxes, on his return from his unfortunate expedition against Greece, had destroyed the Temples of every denomination at Babylon, and even the celebrated one of Belus, which was immensely rich, had not escaped the general destruction. To this Temple of Belus, the kings of Assyria had annexed considerable demesnes, and a great revenue was set apart to defray the expences of the priests and sacrifices. From the time of its destruction, however, the Chaldæan priests continued in quiet and undisturbed possession of the sums, appropriated for

\* “Μηνυστός γενομένης κατὰ Ἀπολλοδώρου τῆς ζεατήγης τῆς Βαβυλωνίᾳ, ὥς εἴη περὶ αὐτῆς τεθυμένης, καλεῖ Πυθαγόραν τὸν μαντίν· ἢ κ' ἀρνημένη δὲ τὴν πράξιν, ἐξώτησε τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν τρόπον· φησάντων δὲ ὅτι τοῦτο ἦτορ ἢ ἀλόβον, Πάππας (εἶπεν) ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ σημείου.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera, Tom. 1--705.

for its use; and though Alexander had given orders for the rebuilding of the temple, the work proceeded very slowly in his absence. To give more rapidity to the execution, he had determined to employ his troops in it, and the Chaldæan priests, fearful, both, of being called to account for the sums, which they had received, and being deprived of their future revenues, published many predictions, that the entry of Babylon would be fatal to its new Master, and invented likewise many omens, with the hopes of preventing his approach. \*

If Alexander had appeared to have given credit to these prophecies and presages, he must have weakened the belief of his Divinity, which he wished to propagate. His ambition was to pass for an Immortal, and fully sensible of the advantages to be reaped from such a received opinion, both in Greece and Asia, he was little solicitous whether death destroyed the illusion, provided the supposition of it, in his life, impressed the world with awe, and assisted him in the completion of his great designs. Q. Curtius, in Alexander's speech to Hermolaus, hath extremely well developed the Macedonian Monarch's conduct. "It was ridicu-

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lous

\* "Επαινοντα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα μετὰ τῆς στρατῆς, καὶ πλεσιάζοντα ἤδη παρεκάλουν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι." (Appian. de Bell. Civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--853.) "Τινες ἐντέλλεσθαι αὐτῷ Χαλδαῖοις, παραινοῦντας ἀπεχεσθαι Βαβυλῶνός τοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--705.

\* "Illud pene dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat a me, ut adverfarer Jovem, cujus oraculo agnoscor. An etiam quod Dii respondeant, in meâ potestate est? Obtulit nomen filii mihi :

lous enough in Hermolaus, that he would have had me oppose Jupiter, who thought fit by his Oracle to own me for his son: Do the answers of the Gods depend on me? he was pleased to offer me the title of Son; and I thought, to receive it, would very much contribute to the success of what I had in view; I wish the Indians could be persuaded that I was a God; for war depends much upon Fame, and sometimes a false report believed has had the effect of a truth."<sup>w</sup>

The Conqueror of the East often employed the means of Superstition, when they were likely to be serviceable to him, and had frequently recourse to them with success. When he desired to remove a subject, whose fidelity was suspicious, Aristander interpreted one of the Prince's dreams agreeable to his inclination, and Alexander the son of Ærope was dismissed.\* The accidental appearance of an eagle was sufficient to reject the opinion of Parmenio,<sup>y</sup> and to counteract the influence of this old and able general with the troops. The Greeks were to be intimidated, and their anxiety appeased: a thousand presages immediately announced the destruction of Thebes.

*mihi: recipere ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque Deum esse me credant. Fama enim bella constant; et sæpe etiam, quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit."*

*Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--615, 616.*

<sup>w</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--90.

\* The dream, and the interpretation may be found in Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 25. --90, 91.

<sup>y</sup> Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 18.--70, 71.

Thebes.<sup>a</sup> Alexander's emissaries undoubtedly augmented these prodigies, and increased their number in proportion to the effects, which they were intended to produce, but the historians of his life cannot be charged with the invention of them. They might adopt them incautiously without considering how they originated, and they may have applied them to the Macedonian Monarch without examination, but it is time to return to the circumstances which attended his death.

In a fragment of the Ephemerides preserved by Arrian,<sup>a</sup> and copied incorrectly by Plutarch,<sup>b</sup> we have a daily account of the progress of the Macedonian Monarch's last malady, and its symptoms are so accurately stated, as to render a mistake impossible on the cause of its fatal termination.

Having passed the day with Medius in play, notwithstanding he had a feverish complaint, he indulged himself in eating in the evening.<sup>c</sup> Aristobulus relates, that being in a high and burning fever, with a great thirst, he still made free with wine, and a delirium following in consequence of this imprudence, he died the

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twenty-

<sup>a</sup> Ælian, Var. Hist. Lib. 12. Tom. 2.--821—823.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--167, 168.—Pausanias, Lib. 9. C. 6.--724.

<sup>a</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 25.--537, 538.

<sup>b</sup> De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

<sup>c</sup> "Διημέρευε προς Μνηδίων κυβευών· εἰτόν τε λουσαμένη, καὶ τὰ ἱερά τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθεῖς, ἐμφαγών, δια νικ-  
τος ἐπυρεξεν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.



twenty-eighth day of the month Dæsius.<sup>d</sup> This account agrees in general with the Ephemerides, with that of Diodorus Siculus,<sup>e</sup> and many other authors, though Q. Curtius and Justin persuade us, that Alexander was poisoned. The two Latin historians pretend, that Alexander's successors had power sufficient to stifle the proofs of their guilt, and prevented the communication of it to posterity.<sup>f</sup> But a different conclusion may, perhaps, be more rationally

<sup>d</sup> "Αριστεύου δὲ φησιν αὐτοὺς πυρεῖτοντα μανικῶς, διψήσαντα δὲ σφοδρᾶ, πίνειν οἶνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ φρενέ-  
τιασαι, καὶ τελευτήσαι, τριακιδὶ Δαίσιου μηνός." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

<sup>e</sup> "Diodorus Siculus mentions the entertainment given by Medius, and adds, that Alexander drank off an Herculean bumper, and was immediately taken violently ill. "Παρεικλήθη πρὸς τινὰ τῶν φίλων Μηδίων τὸν Θετταλὸν εἶναι κομὸν ελθεῖν· κακεὶ πολλὸν ἀκράτῳ ἐμφορηθεὶς, ἐπὶ τελευτῆς Ἡρακλεὺς μέγα ποτηρίῳν πωλῆσας ἐξεπίνει· ἀφ' ἧς οὗτοι, ὥσπερ ὑπο τίνος πλῆγης ἰσχυρὰς πεπληγμένῳ ἀνεξέναξε μέγα βοή-  
σας, καὶ ὑπο τῶν φίλων ἀππλάττετο χεῖρα γωγόμενῳ." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--252, 253.) Plutarch formally contradicts this assertion, "Οὐτε σκυφὸν Ἡρακλεὺς ἐκπίων, οὐτε ἀφ' ἧς διαλγῆς γενο-  
μένῳ τὸ μεταφρενόν, ὥσπερ λογχῇ πεπληγὼς" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.) and Seneca believes it. (Epist. 83.—Tom. 2. 345. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1672.) Athenæus is more circumstantial, "Ἀλεξάν-  
δρῳ γούρ αιτήσας ποτὲ ποτηρίον διχούρ, καὶ πίων προῦπιε τῷ Πρωτέᾳ· καὶ ὅς λαβὼν καὶ πολλὰ ἱμνήσας τὸν βασιλέα, ἐπίνει ὥς ὑπο πάντων κροταλισθῆναι· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὸ αὐτὸ ποτηρίον αιτήσας ὁ Πρωτέας, καὶ πάλιν πίων προῦπιε τῷ βασιλεῖ· Ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λαβὼν ἐσώασε μὲν γενναίως, οὐ μὲν ἐωήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεκλίειν εἶπαι τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, ἀφ' οὗ τῶν χεῖρῶν τὸ ποτηρίον· καὶ ἐκ τούτου νοσήσας ἀπέθανε." (Lib. 10.--434.) The "ποτηρίον διχούρ" is supposed to have been nearly equal to two gallons.

<sup>f</sup> "Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique : filium Antipatri inter ministros, Jollam nomine, patris jussu dedisse.——Hoc per Cassandrum adlatum, traditumque fratri Jollæ, et ab eo supremæ regis potioni inditum. Hæc utcumque sunt tradita, eorum, quos rumor adsperserat, mox potentia extinxit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--811—813.) "Amici causas morbi, intempericiem ebrietatis diffeminaverunt : re autem vera insidiæ fuerunt, quarum infamiam successorum potentia oppressit." (Justin. Lib. 12. C. 13.--338.) Diodorus Siculus also relates the same received opinion, and the supposed reasons for the suppression of it. "Φασὶ γὰρ Ἀντι-  
πάτρον———διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὕβιν, τετραγμένην περὶ τὸν κυάβον, θύναν πίνειν θανάσιμον φαρμακὸν τῷ βασι-  
λεῖ· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν πώλῃσιν ἰσχυράντῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Κασσανδρῇ τὴν ὕβιν  
διαδέξαμεν,

onally drawn from such silence. Their mutual dissensions would most probably have given birth to mutual accusations, and each Pretender to the throne would doubtless have found his interest in ruining the character, and blasting the reputation of his rival.

Q. Curtius<sup>8</sup> hath given us notwithstanding a detail of this imaginary conspiracy. Alexander had been long dissatisfied with Antipater, and

διαδεξαμενος την βασιλειαν, πολλης συγχφης μη τηλμην γεσσαι περι φαρμακειας" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.) Pliny mentions it, and adds with becoming asperity, that Aristotle was very shamefully a Privy Counsellor on the occasion. "Ungulas tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiam, quæ non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ, cum id dandum Alexandro Magno Antipater mitteret, memoria dignum est magna Aristotelis infamia excogitatum" (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 30. Tom. 4.--769, 770.) For an account of the Stygian water, see Vitruvius. Lib. 8. C. 3.--163. Amst. 1649.

<sup>8</sup> Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--811—813. Justin hath entered into it more fully. "Auctor insidiarum Antipater fuit, qui cum carissimos amicos ejus interfectos videret; Alexandrum Lyncistam, generum suum occisum; se magnis rebus in Græciâ gestis, non tam gratum apud regem, quam invidiosum esse; a matre quoque ejus Olympiade variis se criminationibus vexatum. Huc accedebant ante paucos dies supplicia in præfectos devictarum nationum creduliter habita. Ex quibus rebus se quoque a Macedoniâ non ad societatem militiæ, sed ad pœnam evocatum arbitrabatur. Igitur ad occupandum regem, Cassandrum filium dato veneno subornat, qui cum fratribus Philippo et Jollâ ministrare regi solebat: cujus veneni tanta vis fuit, ut non aëre, non ferro, non testâ contineretur, nec aliter ferri, nisi in ungulâ equi potuerit; præmonito filio, ne alii quam Theffalo et fratribus, crederet. Hac igitur ex causâ apud Theffalum paratum, repetitumque convivium est. Philippus et Jollas prægustare ac temperare potum regis soliti, in aquâ frigidâ venenum habuerunt, quam prægustatæ jam potioni supermiserunt." (Just. Lib. 12. C. 14.--338, 339.)—A late noble Author, who, finished his Political career, after basking in the warm sunshine of a Court, by passing through the Torrid Zone of Ministerial Persecution, into the Frozen Region of Oblivion, hath touched in his usual animated manner on the Macedonian Monarch's character and end. "Alexander had violent passions, and those for Wine and Women were predominant, after his ambition. They were spots in his character, before they prevailed by the force of habit: as soon as they began to do so, the King and Hero appeared less, the Rake and Bully more. Persepolis was burnt at the instigation of Thais, and Cli-

and was believed to have sent Craterus with orders to destroy him. The Macedonian governor escaped the blow, and delivered to Cassander a mortal poison, which he was directed to give his brother Iolas, the Royal cup-bearer, who was to introduce it into the Monarch's cup. This fable hath afforded grounds for many writers<sup>b</sup> to suspect that he died by a violent death, but Arrian<sup>i</sup> relates the conspiracy, rather that he might not appear to have been ignorant of it, than from any idea of its authenticity.—According to Plutarch, there were not any suspicions that Alexander fell by poison at the time of his death, and they were most probably first circulated by Olympias, who had vowed an eternal hatred to Antipater. Eight years after the death of her Son, to overwhelm with infamy the memory of Antipater, she scattered in

tus was killed in a drunken brawl. He repented indeed of those two horrible actions, and was again the King and Hero upon many occasions; but he had not been enough upon his guard, when the strongest incitements to vanity and sensual pleasures offered themselves, at every moment, to him: and when he stood, in all his easy hours, surrounded by Women, Eunuchs, by the Panders, Parasites and Buffoons of a voluptuous Court, they, who could not approach the King, approached the Man, and by seducing the Man, they betrayed the King. His faults became habits. The Macedonians, who did not, or would not see the one, saw the other; and he fell a sacrifice to their resentments, to their fears, and to those factions, that will arise under an odious government, as well as under one that grows into contempt.” (Idea of a Patriot King. Lord Bolingbroke's Works, Vol. 3.--112, 113. 4<sup>to</sup> 1777.) Whether the Conqueror of Asia died in consequence of his own intemperance, or fell by poison, is one of those Problems, on which there may be still much Argument exhausted without conviction.

<sup>b</sup> Ælian. De Nat. Animal. Lib. 5. C. 29. Tom. 1.--272. 4<sup>to</sup> 1744.—Dion. Chrysost. O-rat. De Fort.—Sext. Emp. contra Grammat. Lib. 1. C. 12.—Pausanias. Lib. 8.--636.—Tacitus. Annal. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--121, 122. 4<sup>to</sup> Paris. 1771.

<sup>i</sup> “Και ταυτα εμοι, ως μη αγνοειν δοξαιμι πολλον οτι λεγομενα ειναι, η ως πιστα ες αφηγησιν αναγεγραφε-  
ται.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 27.--542.

in the wind the allies of Ioalas, who had been unjustly accused of having distributed the fatal potion.<sup>k</sup> Under the pretence also of punishing his accomplices, she put to death a multitude of persons, equally the victims of her vengeance and caprice.

The Royal diary reports the death of Alexander, on the twenty-eighth day of the month Dæsius, of the Macedonian year, which answers to the month Thargalion, the last of the Attic year.<sup>l</sup> This important event may be then ascertained to have happened at the end of the first year of the 114<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, when Hegesias was Archon, 430 years after the foundation of Rome, and 324 before Christ. Alexander was thirty-two years, ten months, and twenty-two days old, when he died, instead of thirty-two years and eight months, three days excepted, according to Aristobulus,<sup>m</sup> and he reigned twelve years and eight months.<sup>n</sup> The Jesuit Petau fixes, without authority, the death of Alexander, at the commencement of the first year of the 114<sup>th</sup> Olympiad.<sup>o</sup> Corfini<sup>p</sup> hath

<sup>k</sup> “Φαρμακείας δὲ ὑποψίαν αὐτικὰ μὲν ὀδεις εἶσχεν. Ἐκτῷ δὲ εἰσι φασὶν μὲνυσσις γενομένης, τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα πολλὰς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, ἐκρίψαι δὲ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ἰοάλας τεθνηκότος, ὡς τῆς τοῦ φαρμακοῦ ἐγγίαντος.”

De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--707.

<sup>l</sup> “Ἐτελευταίον μὲν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τεταρτῇ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, ἐπὶ Ἡγήσιῳ Ἀρχόντῃ Ἀθηναίων.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

<sup>m</sup> “Ἐβίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριακοντα εἴτη, καὶ τὰς τρίτης μηνὸς ἐπελάβεν οὐκτώ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστοβούλος.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

<sup>n</sup> “Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα εἴτη.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

<sup>o</sup> Petavius De Doctrin. Temper. Tom. 2.--859.

<sup>p</sup> Corfini. Fact. Attic. Tom. 4.--50—54.



hath refuted the opinion with great ability, and with a force of reasoning that wants no assistance.

Are we to believe the writers of Alexander's life, who have assured us, that he did not name a successor, and that he replied only in general terms, when his inclinations were consulted on the future government of his empire, that he left it to the most worthy and deserving?<sup>1</sup> A declaration of this kind appears at first to be contradicted by the Book of Maccabees, but the disagreement may possibly be explained away, without either doubts of that part of the sacred writings, or a violation of critical consistency.

We learn from the Book of Maccabees, according to the Vulgate,<sup>2</sup> with which the Greek text<sup>3</sup> and the Syriac version correspond,

<sup>1</sup> "Querentibus his, cui relinqueret regnum? respondit ei, qui esset optimus." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--781.) "Οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῦτε ἀνεγχαψάν, ἐρεῖσθαι μὲν τῆς ἑταίρης αὐτοῦ, ὅτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει· τὸν δὲ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ὅτι τῷ Κῆρατιςῳ." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 26. --540.) "Cum deficere eum amici viderent, quærunť, quem imperii faciat hæredem. Respondit, dignissimum." (Justin. Lib. 12. C. 15.--341.) "Τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπερωτῶντων, τινὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει; εἶπε, τῷ Κῆρατιςῳ." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.

<sup>2</sup> "Et post hæc decedit in lectum et cognovit quia moreretur. Et vocavit pueros suos nobiles, qui secum erant nutriti a juventute, et divisit illis regnum suum, cum adhuc viveret." 1. Maccab. C. 1.--5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> "Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην, καὶ ἐγὼν ὅτι ἀποθνήσκει· Καὶ ἐκάλεσε τῆς παιδῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐνδοξῆς τῆς συντροφῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ νεότητος, καὶ διέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ." (1. Maccab. C. 1.--5, 6.)—For an explication of the "Παιδῶν" or "Pueros," see Menochius. Comment. Script. Tom. 2. Ed. Aven. 356.



spond, that Alexander, “fell sick, and perceived that he should die. Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.”<sup>1</sup>

The general meaning of this passage hath been differently understood by various commentators; but it may be placed, notwithstanding, in a new light, by a few simple observations. The expression, “he parted his kingdom among them,” may be taken in a more restricted sense than it hath usually been understood, and may signify that Alexander divided his empire amongst his great men as Satraps, without any intention of distributing to them their respective districts, as Sovereigns of so many little and detached kingdoms.—We read in the eighth and ninth verses of the first chapter of the first Book of Maccabees, that. “His servants bare rule every one in his place. And after his death they all put crowns upon themselves.”<sup>w</sup> This account perfectly ascertains the conduct of the Macedonian Monarch’s successors, who first extending their power, secured themselves by the deaths of their competitors, and then proclaiming themselves kings, usurped the Royal diadem. The text of Scripture clearly discriminates two facts. Alexander’s choice of many of his grantees to govern the different parts of the kingdom, and their usur-

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<sup>1</sup> 1. Maccabees, Chap. 1. Verses 5, 6.

<sup>w</sup> “Και επεκρατησαν οι παιδες αυτη εκαστος εν τω τοπω αυτου· και επεθεντο παντες διαδηματα μετα τν αποθανειν αυτον, η ο υιοι αυτων οπισω αυτων ετη πολλα.” 1. Maccab. C. 1.--8, 9.

pation of Royalty, after the death of the Macedonian Monarch, who had no ideas of wresting the sceptre out of the hands of his descendants. If the author of the Book of Maccabees had intended to insinuate, that Alexander's choice carried along with it the right of mounting the throne, he would not undoubtedly have distinguished in such a decided manner the emblems of Royalty, which they so presumptuously arrogated. The inheritance of a crown, and its usurpation by the same individual, include a contradiction.

The first of these facts is not literally mentioned in any profane author, but it appears to be a necessary consequence of the events, which they relate, as they suppose it to have happened. It is strengthened also by a tradition, the vestiges of which, are to be found both with the Ancients, and all the nations of the East.

Aridæus the brother of Alexander, mounted the throne, on the death of the Conqueror of Asia,\* and after a reign of some years died; but the Macedonian Monarch's generals, who had only the authority which they exercised under his name, and that of his children, did not still venture to declare themselves kings. Roxana and her son having been put to death by the order of Cassander,

\* "Εὐδus δε βασιλεια κατεστησαν τον Φιλιππου υιον Αγγελιδαιον, η μελωνομασαν Φιλιππον" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.) Justin hath given more at large a detail of the immediate disputes on Alexander's death, which ends with the "In Aridæum regem consentiunt. Servata est portio regni Alexandri filio, si natus esset." (Justin. Lib. 13. C. 2, 3, 4.--351—355.) And Q. Curtius hath entered into them still more fully, Lib. 10. C. 7, 8, 9. Tom. 2.--788—807.

fander,<sup>r</sup> and Hercules the son of Barcine by Polyperchon,<sup>z</sup> the ambition of Antigonus was no longer restrained by any bounds, and finding his duplicity no further necessary, he openly laid claim to the title and ornaments of Royalty.<sup>a</sup> His rivals soon followed the example. Till this period, the different governors and generals had usurped the power, and extended the territories of their master, under the specious pretext of his service, and obedience to his commands.<sup>b</sup> Seleucus had submitted indeed with impatience to this artifice, and though he had always fears and apprehensions of appearing before the Macedonians with any external marks of Royalty, he had not scrupulously confined himself

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<sup>r</sup> “Κασσανδρῶς δὲ ὄρων Ἀλεξανδρον τον εκ Ρωξάνης αυξανόμενον, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν λόγους ὑπο τινῶν διαδιδόμενους, ὅτι καθήκει προαγεῖν εκ τῆς φυλακῆς τον παῖδα, καὶ τὴν πατρῶαν βασιλείαν παρὰδιδόναι, φρονηθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς, προσεταξε Γλαυκίᾳ τῷ φρονηκοτὶ τῆς τῆ παιδὸς φυλακῆς τὴν μὲν Ρωξάνην καὶ τον βασιλέα κατασφάζει, καὶ κρυφαί τὰ σωματῖα, το δὲ γεγρονῶ μενεὶ των ἀλλων ἀπαγγεῖλαι ποισαντῶ δ’ αὐτῆ το προσαχθέν, οἱ περὶ Κασσανδρον, καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Πτολεμαίον, ἐπὶ δ’ Ἀντιγονον, ἀπὸλλαγῆσαν των ὑπο τῆ βασιλείως προσδοκώμενων φόνων.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19.--398, 399.

<sup>z</sup> “Ἀμὰ δὲ τούτοις παρὰτιομένοις, Πολυσπερχον, μὲν ἠθροικὺς ἄδραν δυνάμειν, κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῶαν βασιλείαν Ἡρακλεὰ τον Ἀλεξανδρὸν καὶ Βαρσίνην———δείσας ὁ Κασσανδρῶς μήποτε φύσει πρὸς μεταβολὴν οὕτοι οἷσι οἱ Μακεδόνες αυτομολήσωσι πρὸς τον Ἡρακλεὰ, διεπρεσβευσάτο πρὸς Πολυσπερχοντα.” The issue of the embassy follows in a few words. “Περὰς δὲ, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλας ἐπαγγελίαις πείσας τον Πολυσπερχοντα, καὶ συνθηκὰς ἐν ἀπορρητοῖς συνθεμενος, προετρεψάτο δολοφονῆσαι τον βασιλέα.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--425.

<sup>a</sup> Diodorus Siculus however informs us, that Antigonus took the favourable moment of some military success against Ptolemy to declare himself King. “Ὁ δ’ Ἀντιγονῶς, πυνδόμενῶς τὴν γένεσιν νικῆν, καὶ μετεωρισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ μεγεθὶ τῆς προτερηματῶς, διαδῆμα περιεθετο, καὶ το λοιπον ἐχρηματίζε βασιλεὺς.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--445.) And Plutarch confirms the supposition. Vit. Demet. Tom. 1.--896. And Justin also, Lib. 15. C. 2.--395.

<sup>b</sup> “Quippe paulo ante regis ministri, specie imperii alieni procurandi, singuli ingentia invaserant regna.” Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--809.

to such restrictions, when he gave audience to foreigners, and strangers.<sup>c</sup> If Alexander had distributed the full Sovereignty of the different provinces to the great men, that he made choice of, his orders would have been at least in part executed, and they would not have failed to publish their titles to the high stations, which they occupied. Instead of any proclamations of this kind, the Royal family continued to be respected, and enjoyed its rights as long as any branch of it existed,<sup>d</sup> and till the death of Perdiccas and of Eumenes, who were considered as its protectors,<sup>e</sup> had left an open field for the disputes of the contending parties. It may perhaps be objected, that the Macedonian grandees parcelled out the empire,<sup>f</sup> but we may easily discover, that the credit and authority of the several Pretenders were the only obstacles, that counteracted Alexander's last wishes.

In

<sup>c</sup> “Και γὰρ Λυσιστραχὺς ἤρξατο φέρειν διαδήμα, καὶ Σέλευκος ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε Βασιλεῦσι πρῶτον, ὅπως ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐχρηματίζε.” De Vit. Demetrii. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--896.

<sup>d</sup> “Hujus honoris ornamenta tamdiu omnes abstinuerunt, quamdiu filii regis sui supereffe potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut, cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus æquo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro justus hæres fuit.” Justin. Lib. 15. C. 2.--395.

<sup>e</sup> “Alexandro Babylone mortuo, quum regna singulis familiaribus dispartirentur, et summa rerum tradita esset tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens annulum suum dederat, Perdiccæ: ex quo omnes conjecerant, eum regnum ei commendasse, quoad liberi ejus in suam tutelam pervenissent.” (Corn. Nep. de Vit. Eumenis. C. 2.--505—507.) “Petiit autem ab Eumene absente, ne pateretur, Philippi domus et familiæ inimicissimos stirpem quoque interimere, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri. Quam veniam si sibi daret, quam primum exercitus pararet, quos sibi subsidio adduceret. Id quo facilius faceret, se omnibus præfectis, qui in officio manebant, misisse literas, ut ei parerent, ejusque consilio uterentur.” Corn. Nepos. de Vit. Eumenis. C. 6.--525.

<sup>f</sup> Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--807—809.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18.



In that species of military anarchy, which followed Alexander's death, power naturally prevailed over right, and became the only rule of the illegal and unequal division of the empire, that ensued. It is possible, that Perdiccas, who presided at the numerous deliberations, in which the fate of the empire<sup>ε</sup> was decided, might, either from caprice or interested views, have made some changes in the directions of his master, from whom he received a ring as a sort of appointment to the offices of executor of his orders, of protector of the kingdom, and of guardian to his children.<sup>h</sup> It is natural to imagine, that this general, who was attached to Alexander by the ties of blood,<sup>i</sup> might be the person that he had in contemplation, when he answered, "to the most worthy and deserving," on being asked how he wished to dispose of the kingdom; and that he intended only to vest the regency in him, during the minority of his children, without the remotest idea of altering the succession, and giving him the power of transmitting it to his family, in preference to his own immediate descendants. Perhaps also the Macedonian Monarch, leaving only children in a state of infancy, by widows or daughters of the natives of the countries,

that

<sup>ε</sup> "Perdicca, perducto in urbem exercitu, consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--807.) "Οὐτῷ δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τῷ Λαγῷ τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἔδωκε, Λαομεδόντι δὲ τῷ Μιτυληναίῳ Συρίαν, &c. &c. &c." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.

<sup>h</sup> "Επιμελητὴν δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Περδίκκῃαν, ὃ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν δακτυλίον τελευτῶν ἐδεδωκεῖ." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.

<sup>i</sup> "Κύναντι Φιλίππου θυγατρὶς ————— γηγάμενη δὲ Ἀμύντα τῷ Περδίκκῃ." Polyæni. Strat. Lib. 8. --816.



that he had conquered, was cautious of declaring them in express terms his successors, from the fear of insulting the Macedonians. Such might have been his reasons, and with these sentiments he might have considered it prudent, to leave his grandees the liberty of choosing out of his own family, the successor most capable, in their opinions, of sustaining the weight of empire, and filling up the void by his loss. The last words of the Macedonian Monarch will plausibly admit of this explication, and by the distribution of his conquests, as Satrapies, he might flatter himself the ambition of the great men would be satisfied, and that their veneration of his memory would preserve to his children the Supreme power and Sovereignty. Yet there is a possibility that even the last words of Alexander have been supposed by his officers, and this suggestion is rather favourable to the Book of Maccabees. The doubts of the Prince's intention exculpated in the minds of the troops their tumultuous behaviour, and were some excuse for the different pretensions, in the support of which torrents of blood were soon shed.<sup>k</sup> From the same motives, the expiring Monarch

<sup>k</sup> "Orosius in a profusion of metaphor, opens his narrative of the Macedonian dissensions with, "At ego nunc revocor, ut per hæc eadem tempora——quæ inter se bella gesserint Macedonum duces, revolvam qui mortuo Alexandro diversas fortiti provincias, mutuis se bellis consumpserunt, quorum ego tumultuosissimum tempus ita mihi spectare videor, quasi aliqua immensa castra per noctem de speculâ montis adspectans, nihil in magno campi spatio præter innumeros focos cernam: ita per totum Macedoniae regnum, hoc est per universam Asiam et plurimam Europæ partem, Lybiæque vel maximam, horrendi subito bellorum globi colluxerunt! Qui cum ea præcipue loca, in quibus exarsere, populati sunt, reliqua omnia terrore rumoris, quasi fumi caligine, turbaverunt. ——Alexander per duodecim annos trementem sub se orbem ferro pressit. Principes vero ejus quatuordecim annis dilaniaverunt, et veluti opimam prædam a magno leone prostratam avidi discerpere

Monarch is imagined to have foreseen the fatal dissensions, that his death would produce, and the very extraordinary funeral games that would attend<sup>1</sup> it.

We are told by many ancient authors, whose entire works have not reached us, that Alexander distributed by a will the different provinces of his empire. The expressions of Q. Curtius on this subject are by no means equivocal, and they agree with the Book of Maccabees. We are not to conclude, however, with the Latin historian, that these traditions were false,<sup>m</sup> and, on the contrary, it may be reasonably presumed, that Alexander's successors might influence the pens of their cotemporary writers, and prevent a publication of the Prince's testamentary dispositions. Political sagacity pointed out to them, that, without having been chosen, the title of Royalty, which first arose from the powers, which Alexander had confided to the great men around him, "whilst he was yet alive," and which they afterwards usurped on the death of the different branches of the Royal family, was literally extinct, and that the people, oppressed by their despotic governments,

might

discerpere catuli: seque ipsos invicem in rixam irritatos prædæ æmulatione fregerunt." Orosius, Lib. 3. C. 23.--201. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1767.

<sup>1</sup> "Ceterum providere jam ob id certamen, magnos funebres ludos parari sibi," (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--781.) "Αποθνήσκων δὲ, πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρους ἰδὼν, εἶπεν, Μεγανόξω μὲν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἱσο-  
μενον." Plutarch, Apothegm. Tom. 2.--181.

<sup>m</sup> "Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias; sed famam hujus rei, quamquam ab auctoribus tradita est, vanam fuisse comperimus." Q. Curtius, Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--809.

might have seized the pretext to emancipate themselves. Q. Curtius is not the only writer of antiquity, who mentions the last dispositions of the Macedonian Monarch. Diodorus Siculus assures us, that he had deposited with the Rhodians, a testament, containing his directions concerning his empire," and Ammianus Marcellinus speaks also of this will, in which he had named his successor.<sup>o</sup> Moses of Chorene,<sup>p</sup> a writer of the fifth century and of some authority, hath not forgotten also the division of the Eastern empire, nor the last dispositions of the Conqueror. Malala<sup>q</sup> tells us in his chronicle, that Alexander just before he expired, gave directions that the governors, whom he appointed in the different provinces, should reign in them, and the author of the chronicle, of which Scaliger published<sup>r</sup> an extract, agrees with Malala, but the testimony of these writers of the middle age deserves little credit, for they have in fact but copied the Book of Maccabees.

The

<sup>n</sup> "Τον δε πλειστον ισχυραντα των μνημονευμενων Αλεξανδρον, προτιμησαντ' αυτην μαλιστα των πολεων κ' την υπερ ολης της βασιλειας διαδηκην εκει δεσθαι." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--464.

<sup>o</sup> "Ut bella pretereamus Alexandri, et testamento nationem omnem in successoris unius jura translata." Amm. Marcellinus. Lib. 23. C. 6.--398.

<sup>p</sup> "Igitur Alexander ille Macedo——totius orbis imperio potitus, cum regnum suum inter plures testamento partitus est, ita tamen ut Macedonum imperium generatim univérseque appellaretur, ipse e vita excessit." Hist. Armen. ex Vers. Whiston. Lib. 2. C. 1.--82, 83.

<sup>q</sup> "Μελλων δε τελευταν ο αυτος Αλεξανδρος, διαταξατο ωστε παντας της συν αυτω υπερασπισας κ' συμμαχους βασιλευειν της αυτης χωρας, οπε ην αυτες εατας, κ' κρατειν των εκεισε τοπων." Malal. Chronic. Lib. 8.--82. Apud Byzant. Script. Tom. 23. Ed. Venet.

<sup>r</sup> Chronic. 72.

The Eastern nations have preserved in their writings, some remains of the traditions respecting the partition of the empire, which Alexander made, and the *Tarikh-Montekheb* intimates, “that the King divided, a little before his death, the provinces of Persia amongst the descendants of the princes, that he had stripped of them, on the condition of their doing him fealty and homage.”<sup>s</sup> *Sangiac-Tharikele* adds, that after Alexander’s death, these Feudatory or tributary princes became independent Sovereigns. But the division of Persia, amongst the issue of the dethroned princes is an error, and by the Feudatory princes, these authors undoubtedly meant Satraps, who had almost as extensive an authority, as the vassals of the ancient European monarchs. Cyrus, to supply the wants of his vast empire, and to relieve himself and his successors from the fatigues of such an extended government, created the office of Satraps, to whom he delegated his authority. These Satraps exercised indeed powers almost without bounds. They had the right of levying taxes and impositions, and they were even charged with the payment of the troops in their governments,<sup>t</sup> which were given in Apanage to the sons of the Persian monarchs. *Hystaspes* the son of *Xerxes*, held *Bactria* as Satrap,<sup>w</sup> and the younger *Cyrus* enjoyed under the same title,

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the

<sup>s</sup> Herbelot. *Bibliothèque Orientale*. 318.—See also *Mirkhoud*. Sect. 21.

<sup>t</sup> “Σατραπας παμψι μοι δοκει, οτινες αρξουσιν των ενοικουτων, κ̃ τον δασμον λαμβανοντες τοις τε ξυμφοις δωσουσι μισθον, κ̃ αλλο τελετεσιν οι τι αν δεη” *Xenoph. Cyropædia*. Lib. 8.—637. 4<sup>to</sup> 1727.

<sup>w</sup> “Ἰσασπης, αποδημῶων, κατ’εκεινον τον καιρον\* ειχε γαρ την εν Βακτροις σατραπειαν” (*Diod. Sicul. Lib. 11. Tom. 1.--457.*) The Baron de St. Croix styles *Hystaspes* “fils d’Artaxerxes,”

but



the government of Asia Minor. We may judge from the preliminaries of his campaign, which terminated with the battle of Cunaxa, of the great and important powers intrusted to a Satrap, and how dangerous the office was in the hands either of an ambitious person, or one with military abilities of any consequence.

Alexander not only adopted the manners of the Persians, but even their principles and form of government, and established Satraps in all his empire. Most of the historians, who have spoken of the division of it, which he made at his death, have intended by Satrapies to specify the portions which fell to the share of each of his generals, and gave the titles of Satraps to the governors of them. Appian,\* in mentioning the events, which followed the Macedonian Monarch's death, informs us, that these generals from being Satraps became Kings. Yet this was by an abuse of their power. When Alexander made the partition of his kingdom, "whilst he was yet alive," he undoubtedly was not aware of the danger attending such appointments, which were originally little different from those, that Cyrus just before his death conferred upon his friends, who appeared to him most proper to be intrusted with the government of his kingdom.† The same consequences might

but he was the son of Xerxes, according to Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 11. Tom. 1.--456.) and I have rectified the error.

\* "Και βασιλεις ἅπαντες εκ Σατραπων εγγινοντο" (Appian. de Bell. Syriac. Tom. 1.--197. 8<sup>vo</sup> Amst. 1670.) Justin hath the same idea, "Sic reges ex præfectis facti." Lib. 8. C. 4.--361.

† "Ἐπειτα δὲ ὅς ἐγγινωσκε τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξημενοῖς ἐπιθυμούντας ἵεναι, ἐκλεξαμένων αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκούντας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους εἶναι, ἐπέμπε Σατράπας" Xenoph. Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--638.



might have flowed from them, if Cyrus, like Alexander, had only left a brother of inferior talents, and children in a state of infancy, or likely to be born.—The Prophecy of Daniel, respecting the Macedonian Conqueror, authorizes the explication, that hath been given of the seventh verse of the first Book of Maccabees, and agrees with the relation of the profane writers.<sup>z</sup> After having announced that, “a<sup>a</sup> mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will,”<sup>b</sup> the Prophet continues his predictions in the following terms, “and<sup>c</sup> when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up even for others besides these.”<sup>d</sup> Daniel wished to indicate by these expressions, that the united empire of the Macedonian Monarch should after his death be divided, and the event justifies the prediction. Not only the conquests of the Macedonian Monarch were split into four great detached kingdoms, but even strangers according to the Vulgate,<sup>e</sup> or simply other in-

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dividuals,

<sup>z</sup> Arrian. De rebus post Alexandrum apud Photium. 215.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2. --258.—Dexippus apud Photium. 202.—Justin. Lib. 13. C. 7.--357—361.

<sup>a</sup> “Και αναστησεται βασιλευς δυνατος, και κυριευσει κυριως πολλης, και ποιησει κατα το θελημα αυτου.” Daniel. C. 11. V. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Daniel. Chap. 11. Verse 3.

<sup>c</sup> “Και ως ανση η βασιλεια αυτη, σιντειβησεται, και διαιρεθησεται εις της τεσσαρας ανεμους του υερνου, και εκ εις τα εσχατα αυτη, εδε κατα την κυρειαν αυτη, ην εκυριευσεν, οτι εκτιλησεται η βασιλεια αυτη, και εις εις εκ τουτων.” Daniel. C. 11. V. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Daniel. Chap. 11. Verse 4.

<sup>e</sup> “Lacerabitur enim regnum etiam in externos exceptis his.” Daniel. C. 11. V. 4.

dividuals, agreeable to the Hebrew text and Septuagint,<sup>f</sup> had a share in the dismemberment, and proclaimed themselves kings. Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Dexippus and Justin, have furnished us with the names of many of the great men<sup>g</sup> who filled these employments, and in the distant provinces, they took advantage of the Macedonian dissensions to establish their authority and independence. Theodotus of Bactria, first shook off the Macedonian yoke, and the example was soon followed by the neighbouring nations.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>f</sup> “Καὶ ἑτέροις ἐκτὸς τῶν” Daniel. C. 11. V. 4.

<sup>g</sup> “Arrien, Diodore, Dexippe et Justin, nous apprennent que plusieurs Satrapes des provinces éloignées de l'Orient profitèrent des dissensions des Macedoniens, pour se soustraire à leur domination.” The Baron de St. Croix in support of the assertion, refers his readers to Photii Biblioth. 215, 216.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.—Justin. Lib. 13. C. 4.--355—361.—But these authors, in the passages referred to, principally confine themselves to the distribution of the provinces after Alexander's death.

<sup>h</sup> “Theodotus mille urbium Bactrianarum præfectus, defecit, regemque se appellari jussit: quod exemplum secuti totius Orientis populi a Macedonibus defecere.” Justin. Lib. 41. C. 4.--686.

#### END OF THE THIRD SECTION.

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SECTION. IV.

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“—ORBIS SITUM DICERE AGGREDIOR, IMPEDITUM OPUS, ET  
FACUNDIÆ MINIME CAPAX.”

P. MELÆ PROŒMIUM.

THE ancient historians, collected with great labour and attention the materials for their works. The moderns have been reproached with compiling in their closets and at their ease memoirs of the facts with which they are acquainted, and supplying, by the help of imagination, any chasm that might remain to be filled up. Reports, often faithless and commonly insufficient, concerning the countries, which have been the theatres of the events, that they pretend to describe, are almost the whole resource of this class of authors.—Polybius scaled the summit of the Alps, to trace out with fidelity the march of Hannibal, and he matured his history, by adding to his own reflections the advantages acquired from a knowledge of the world, which he reaped from his travels. The wisdom of the plan was indeed caught from Herodotus, whose descriptions are so very exact, as to be in general preferable to those

those of the later writers, and, in the instances respecting Alexander's expeditions, even to the geographical details of the Conqueror's own historians.

The knowledge of the terrestrial globe, was undoubtedly extended by the companions of the Macedonian Monarch's arms, but, without allowing themselves time for cool and serious reflection, they took up every thing from its first impression, which is frequently inaccurate, and their contemporaries, dazzled with their prosperity, fell into their errors.

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## OF ASIA MINOR.

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The learned Salmasius<sup>a</sup> hath well observed, that Q. Curtius<sup>b</sup> confounds the Marfyas, which passed by Celæne, a city destroyed, and afterwards rebuilt at some distance from its original situation, under the name of Apamea, by Antiochus Soter,<sup>c</sup> with the Lycus, which bathed the walls of Laodicea. These two rivers threw themselves

<sup>a</sup> Salmasii Exercit. Plin. 582.

<sup>b</sup> "Ad urbem Celænus exercitum admovit. Mediam illâ tempestate interfluebat Marfyas amnis."  
Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--51, 52.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo. Lib. 12.--866.

themselves into the Meander, at the distance from each other of more than five hundred stadia, from the North to the South-East, in Pacatian Phrygia. <sup>d</sup>

Q. Curtius, speaking of Alexander's arrival at Gordium, the capital of Phrygia, and which had been formerly the residence of Midas, assures us, that this city was situated on the river Sangaris, and at an equal distance from the seas of Pontus and Cilicia. <sup>e</sup> Gordium, which was reduced to an insignificant village in the time of Strabo, <sup>f</sup> was afterwards restored under the reign of Augustus, and had the name of Juliopolis. <sup>g</sup> Monsieur d'Anville, <sup>h</sup> places it twenty-five leagues from the Pontus Euxinus, and eighty-four from the sea of Cilicia, equivalent to the Latitude of forty degrees and ten minutes, agreeable to Ptolemy, <sup>i</sup> and the situation is authorized also by the distance between Juliopolis and Constantinople, according to the itinerary of Antonine. <sup>k</sup> Q. Curtius hath therefore

<sup>d</sup> See la Carte de l'Asie Minor par d'Anville.

<sup>e</sup> "Tunc habebat quondam nobilem Midæ regiam; Gordium nomen est nrbi, quam Sangarius amnis interfuit, pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--55, 56.

<sup>f</sup> "Οὐδ' ἵχνη σωζονται πολεων, αλλα κωμαι, μικρω μειζους των αλλων." Strabo. Lib. 12.--852.

<sup>g</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. C. 39. Tom. 1.--624.—Strabo. Lib. 12.--860.

<sup>h</sup> La Carte de l'Asie Minor par d'Anville,

<sup>i</sup> Geograph. Lib. 5. C. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Antonini Itin. Ed. Weffeling. 142—144.



therefore fixed this city, twenty-seven leagues farther Southward than he ought to have done.<sup>1</sup>

The Latin historian is guilty of a more considerable error, in giving to the isthmus of Asia Minor the Longitude of Gordium, though it is formed by that portion of land situated between the gulph of Amisus and that of Tarsus, near the mouth of the Cydnus.<sup>m</sup> It is therefore five degrees to the East nearer Gordium.<sup>n</sup> Something may perhaps be discovered in the text of Q. Curtius to justify him, but it will, notwithstanding, be very difficult to make any sense of the following passage.<sup>o</sup> "These seas almost unite, having but a small neck of land to part them, each sea striving to encroach upon the land, and reducing it into a narrow strait. But yet though it reaches the Continent, and as it is almost surrounded with water, it seems to represent an island; in-somuch, that were it not for this slender partition, these seas would join."<sup>p</sup>—The isthmus, which joins that part of Asia Minor to the  
great

<sup>1</sup> Yet Titus Livy seems to entertain the same opinion as to the situation of Gordium. "Postero die ad Gordium pervenit. Id haud magnum quidem oppidum est, sed plus, quam Mediterraneum, celebre et frequens emporium, tria maria pari ferme distantia intervallo habet." Lib. 38. C. 18. Tom. 5.--191.

<sup>m</sup> Strabo. Lib. 14.--990.

<sup>n</sup> La Carte de l'Asie Minor par d'Anville.

<sup>o</sup> "Inter hæc maria angustissimum Asiæ spatium esse comperimus, utroque in artas fauces compellente terram. Quæ quia Continenti adhæret, sed magnâ ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulæ præbet; ac nisi tenue discrimen objiceret, maria, quæ nunc dividit, committeret." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--56.

<sup>p</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 1.--149.

great Continent of this quarter of the world, and the country between the gulphs of Amifus and Tarsus, was divided into three great kingdoms, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, embracing an extent of twenty degrees of Latitude, and is described, as one might have supposed, that of Corinth would have been.

Arrian hath confounded the Greater Phrygia,<sup>1</sup> watered by the Sangaris, of which Galatia, where the ancient Gordium stood, was once a part, with the Lesser Phrygia; more distinguished by Phrygia above the Hellespont, in which the Troad was included.<sup>2</sup> This error, as Cellarius<sup>3</sup> remarks, produced many others.—Alexander marched from Gordium to Ancyra, a city of Galatia, according to Arrian.<sup>4</sup> It is certain that Ancyra, in the time of this historian, was a city of Galatia, but in the age of Alexander, this country which was only inhabited by the Gauls, about two hundred and fifty years before Christ, and took afterwards its name from them, was then called the Greater Phrygia. In the itinerary therefore of the Macedonian Monarch's army, the term of Greater Phrygia should be preserved.

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We

<sup>1</sup> “Το δὲ Γορδίου ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ’ Ἑλλεσποντὸς, καὶ τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Σαγγαρίῳ ποταμῷ.” Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* Lib. 1. C. 29.--100.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy (Lib. 5. C. 2.--117.) supposes the Lesser Phrygia to have been the same with the Troad, though it was only a part of it. (See Strabo. Lib. 13.) Strabo allows that he has entered into a description of the Troad, with some prolixity. Lib. 13.--871—878, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Geograph. Ant.* Tom. 2.--97.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* Lib. 2. C. 4.--111.

We find a similar mistake in Q. Curtius, and we are told, that Amphoterus and Hegelochus, reduced under subjection the islands between Achaia and Asia. <sup>w</sup> Achaia was situated on the North of the Peloponnesus, and as it comprised at that time no greater extent than in the days of Herodotus, <sup>x</sup> it ought not to be considered as the Continent opposite to Asia, though its boundaries were enlarged under the Roman empire, and the term might then be a proper one.

The ancient geographical writers are not free from mistakes of this kind, which they fell into from their inattention to history, which ought always to be connected with geography, and indeed renders it only useful. On this account the migrations of different nations, the various revolutions, and the limits and names of countries, that were either conquered, or exchanged their masters, should be discriminated, and the different periods of these several changes marked in a chronological manner. Stripped of these precautions, geography will be found a dry catalogue of names, which fatigues the memory without improving the understanding, and a number of anachronisms and contradictions must inevitably follow. Asia Minor in particular was subject to many revolutions, which, in the description of this part of the world, are absolutely necessary to be known; and Strabo, who joined to the views of the philosopher  
great

<sup>w</sup> "Amphoterus et Hegelochus centum sexaginta navium classe insulas inter Achaïam atque Asi-  
am in ditionem Alexandri redegerunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--193, 194.

<sup>x</sup> Herodotus. Lib. 1.--71, 72.

great geographical information, hath not overlooked them. "The migrations of the Greeks after the Trojan war," says the judicious writer, "that of the Treres, the Cimmerians, Lydians, and those afterwards of the Persians and Macedonians, and lastly that of the Galatians have created great difficulties and confusion. The removal of nations has not only been the cause of much obscurity, but the different authors, who have written of the same places, have given them different names, and do not agree with each other. Phrygians are called Trojans, and with the licence of the tragic poets, the Lycians, Carians.

Notwithstanding these impediments, every possible advantage ought to be endeavoured to be obtained, and where the darkness of ancient history cannot be dissipated, (as the duty of the geographer is not solely confined to it) the actual situation of places should be explained."<sup>y</sup> These observations point out to us not only the changes that have happened in Asia Minor, and the mistakes, which they have occasioned, but shew us the route that we should take in our researches, and the use and benefit of them.

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OF

<sup>y</sup> "Μετα δε τα Τροικα αι τε των Έλληνων αποικιαι, η αι Τηρων, η αι Κιμμεριων εφοδοι, η Λυδων, η μετα ταυτα Περσων, η Μακεδωνων, τελευταιον Γαλατων, εταξαξαν παντα, η συνεχεαν. Γεγονε δε η ασχηα, η δια τας μεταβολας μονον, αλλα η δια τας των συγγραφεων ανομολογιας, περι των αυτων η τα αυτα λεγοντων. τες μεν Τρωας καληντων Φρυγας, καθαπερ οι τραγικοι, τες δε Λυκιες Καςας, η αλλες ετως.—  
Ομως δε καιπερ τοις αυτων οντων, περαστεον δικαιταν εκασα εις δυναμιν, ο, τι δ' αν διαφοροι της παλαιας ιστοριας, τετο μεν εατεον (η γαρ ενταυθα το της γεωγραφικης ερρον) ταδε νυν οντα λεκτεον." Strabo. Lib. 12.--859, 860.

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OF ÆGYPT AND LYBIA.

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Little is to be gleaned respecting Ægypt in the history of Alexander's campaigns, which Diodorus Siculus hath left us. On the division of the Satrapies after the Macedonian Monarch's death, he speaks very superficially of the provinces, which formed his immense empire, and the following passage hath neither a claim to accuracy nor precision.<sup>z</sup> "All the extremities of Cælo-Syria and the neighbouring deserts, through which the Nile flows, separating Ægypt from Syria." Short as this sentence is, it may be still difficult to conceive a just idea of what the Greek author meant. Cælo-Syria, properly so called, was situated in the middle of the country between Libanus and Anti Libanus,<sup>a</sup> and it extended under the reign of Alexander's successors to all the Southern part of Syria, as far as the frontiers of Ægypt and Arabia.<sup>b</sup> Diodorus Siculus hath adopted the whole extent, and hath confounded also Arabia Petrea with the Arabia of Heroum, confined

<sup>z</sup> "Παρά δὲ τὰ πέρατα τῆς κοίτης Συρίας καὶ τὴν συνεχῶς κειμένην ἐξημον, καὶ ἣν ὁ Νεῖλος φερεμένην ὀρίζεται Συρίαν τε καὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτον." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--261.

<sup>a</sup> "Κοιλήσιμα καλεῖται" ἰδίως δ' ἡ τῶ Λιβανῶ καὶ τῶ Ἀντιλίβανῶ ἀφωρισμένη." Strabo. Lib. 13. --1097.

<sup>b</sup> See the commentary of Eustathius on Dionys. Perieges. V. 970.--123. Ed. Steph. 4<sup>to</sup> 1577.



confined to Ægypt, whose limits were bounded by the lake Serbonis, near the promontory Kas Kazaron or cape Delkas,<sup>c</sup> and the mount Cassius of the Ancients.<sup>d</sup> The Ionians reduced Ægypt as far as the Delta, and pretended that the country to the East of the mouth of the Pelusiacus made part of Arabia, as the tract beyond that of the Canopus, was annexed to Lybia. This opinion, ably refuted by Herodotus,<sup>e</sup> was the source of all the errors of Diodorus Siculus, and also led him to stretch even to the Nile, that portion of Syria which ended at the lake Serbonis, and had the Arabia of Heroun to the South.—If Diodorus Siculus hath however extended too far to the limits of Syria, Arrian hath compressed them, when he tells us that Gaza was the last town on the road to Ægypt.<sup>f</sup> Syria had notwithstanding many other remarkable cities, and amongst them, Anthedon, Bethaila, Jenyfus, Raphea and Rhinocolura, according to Pliny,<sup>g</sup> the

<sup>c</sup> Ægypte Ancienne et Moderne par d'Anville. 99.

<sup>d</sup> Herodotus. Lib. 2.--106.

<sup>e</sup> Herodotus. Lib. 2.--110, 111. Where the Point is well argued.

<sup>f</sup> “Εσχχτη δε κλειτο, ὡς ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτου καὶ Φοινίκης ἰσχυται.” (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 26. --174.) The Baron de St. Croix hath rendered the “Εσχχτη δε κλειτο” by “La dernière ville habitée” and Dr. Gillies (History of Greece. Vol. 2.--609.) as well as Rooke, the translator of Arrian, have understood the expression in the same sense. May I be permitted to doubt, whether Arrian did not rather mean to intimate, that Gaza was the city last built and peopled on the road to Ægypt.—By this construction, the inadvertency, with which the Baron de St. Croix hath charged Arrian, is at an end, and Pliny’s apparent contradiction will be no longer visible.

<sup>g</sup> “Telles qu’Anthedon, Bethaila, Jenyfus, Raphia, et Rhinocolura, celleci, le dernier lieu de cette province selon Plin.” I cannot comprehend how the “Oppida Rhinocolura, et intus Raphea :

the last of which stood on the confines of Syria towards Ægypt, and was nearly four hundred Olympic stadia from Gaza.

Q. Curtius informs us, that the country of Ammon was terminated to the East by the Æthiopians; to the South by the Troglodite Arabians, whose territories reached the Red Sea; to the West by the Æthiopian Scenites, and to the North by the Nafamons.<sup>b</sup> We may collect some ideas of the accuracy of the Latin historian, from a comparison of his position of these different nations with those both of the ancient and modern geographers.

The Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, in Marmarica,<sup>i</sup> and not in the Cyrenaic, as Pliny<sup>k</sup> and Pomponius Mela<sup>l</sup> have advanced, had Lybia on the North, whose coasts were inhabited, if we are to believe

Raphea: Gaza, et intus Anthedon," (Plin. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--566.) can warrant such a sentence. I have released Pliny from the weight of the obligation, and made the Baron de St Croix accountable for his own assertions.

<sup>b</sup> "Adcolæ fedis sunt ab Oriente proximi Æthiopum: in meridiem versus Arabes spectant, Troglodyti cognomen est: quorum regio usque ad rubrum mare excurrit. At qua vergit ad Occidentem, alii Æthiopes colunt, quos scenitas vocant: a septentrione Nafamones sunt, gens Syriaca." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--212, 213.

<sup>i</sup> I doubt whether the "Οἱ Μαγμαριδαὶ προσχωρῆντες ἐπὶ πλεον τῇ Κυρηναίᾳ, καὶ παρατείνοντες μέχρι Ἀμμωνῶν," (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1195.) will include the Oracle. See however Cellarii Geograph. 68.

<sup>k</sup> "Cyrenaica, eadem Pentapolitana regio illustratur Hammonis oraculo, quod a Cyrenis abest C. C. C. M. passuum." Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--541.

<sup>l</sup> "Cyrenaica provincia est; in eâque sunt Hammonis oraculum, fidei inclytæ: et fons, quem Solis appellant." P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 8.--46. 8<sup>vo</sup> L. B. 1748.

believe Herodotus,<sup>m</sup> by a wandering and unsettled nation; Ægypt on the East; on the South the Nobates and Garamantians, though Herodotus places them twenty days' journey to the West of the Ammonians; and the Inner Lybia on the West. ¶ The Troglo-dites, who were situated on the Western coast of the Arabian gulph, to the South of Ægypt,<sup>n</sup> cannot be included in the list of the neighbouring nations of the Oracle, nor the Æthiopian Scenites and Nomades, residing near the island of Meroe,<sup>o</sup> whose position to the South of Thebes is well known.—According to the ancient geographers, the Nafamons resided near the Great Syrtes, and the borders of Cyrene and Carthage, distinguished by the *Aræ Philenorum*.<sup>p</sup> Herodotus throws back the Southern frontiers of Lybia, as far as Augila,<sup>q</sup> ten days' journey from Ammon, whose Latitude will not then differ more than one degree and ten minutes, from that of the country of the Nafamons. Q. Curtius scarcely merits a reproach, for such a trifling mistake, but Diodorus Siculus is unpardonable, for having placed this Lybian nation to the South of the Oracle.

OF

<sup>m</sup> Herodotus, Lib. 4.--360.

<sup>n</sup> Strabo. Lib. 1.--71.

<sup>o</sup> Herodotus, Lib. 2.--116.

<sup>p</sup> Strabo. Lib. 2.--193.—Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--543.—Scylacis Periplus. 111. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1700.—Eustath. Comm. ad Dionys. Perieg. V. 209.--31. 4<sup>to</sup> 1577.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 7.--40.

<sup>q</sup> Herodotus, Lib. 4.--361.

## OF THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE EUPHRATES.

We learn from Arrian, that the Macedonian army on leaving the banks of the Tigris, in their march to Gaugamele, had the Sogdian mountains on the left. <sup>†</sup> The error must have arisen from the negligence of the copyist, who probably, inserted Sogdian instead of Gordian or Corduan, as both Palmer <sup>‡</sup> and Holstenius <sup>§</sup> have observed. The necessity of this correction is indeed evident, from the march of Alexander's army. The Gordian or Corduan mountains, were situated to the North of Arbela, and consequently the Macedonian troops must have them on the left. Strabo, <sup>||</sup> Q. Curtius, <sup>¶</sup> and Plutarch, <sup>|||</sup> unite their testimony in support of this emendation; but instead of endeavouring to discover in the text of Arrian, a solution of the difficulty, in which he is involved,

Monfieur

<sup>†</sup> “Εν αριστερᾷ μὲν ἔχουσιν τὰ Σογδιανῶν ὄρη.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--195.

<sup>§</sup> Exercitat. in Auctores Græcos. 238.

<sup>‡</sup> Ad. Not. in Steph. Byzant.

<sup>||</sup> Strabo. Lib. 11.--802.

<sup>¶</sup> “Secundâ vigiliâ castra movit: dextrâ Tigrim habebat; a lævâ montes, quos Gordæos vocant.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 10. Tom. 1.--242.

<sup>|||</sup> “Πεδιον το μεταξυ τε Νιφατε κ̅ των ορων των Γορδυναίων.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--683.

Monſieur Freret<sup>z</sup> is diſpoſed to ſuppoſe he gave the name of Sogdian, a term ſignifying, in his opinion, a valley, to all the country round about Arbela. This learned writer hath notwithstanding, inconſiſtently advanced in his memoir on the chronology of Aſſyria, “that<sup>a</sup> the name of Sogdian was uſually applied to any mountainous country.”—Abulfeda, however, leaves little doubt upon the ſubject. Soghd, according to this Arabian author, is the name of an extenſive province of Trans-Oxiana, of which Samarcand was the capital.—Alfragan<sup>b</sup> reckons Sogdiana as a province of the Khorafan, and the other Oriental writers, from whom Monſieur Freret appears to have taken up his conjectures, are not favourable to him. Herbelot alſo contradicts him.

Alexander croſſing Meſopotamia, in the direction of North to South, from Gaugamele to Memnium or Memin, left a great part of the country on the right. Q. Curtius affures us, that the Macedonian army had on the left Arabia Felix,<sup>c</sup> which is to the South-Eaſt of the Deſert, near the Euphrates and Babylon,<sup>d</sup> and, thus miſtaking “Arabia Deſerta” for “Arabia Felix,” he places on the left, what was upon the right. But indeed the account of

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this

<sup>z</sup> Obſervat. ſur la Cyrop. Hiſt. de l’Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 4.--611, 612.

<sup>a</sup> Hiſt. de l’Academie des Inſcript. Tom. 5.--190.

<sup>b</sup> Element. Aſtronom. C. 9.

<sup>c</sup> “Euntibus a parte lævâ, Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio.” Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--302.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo, Lib. 16.--1112.



this historian, might induce us to believe, that Alexander had Arabia on the right during the whole of his march, which was the case only during a short part of it.

An alteration of a single word, in a geographical description, may sometimes occasion considerable errors, and Justin furnishes us with an instance of it. The Lycus, a river which flows through the plains of Arbela, is termed the Cydnus, a river of Cilicia, which washes the walls of Tarsus.<sup>c</sup> We may reasonably suppose this was owing to negligence in the copyist, but it has notwithstanding bewildered P. Orosius, who follows the exact footsteps of the abbreviator of T. Pompeius, and, with the greatest absurdity, states Alexander's last decisive engagement with Darius to have been fought near Tarsus.<sup>f</sup>

The Tigris and the Euphrates are said by Q. Curtius to cross both Media and Gordiana:<sup>g</sup> on the contrary, these rivers direct their course to the West of Media, and to the South and West of Gordiana. Diodorus Siculus may possibly have been the author of  
of

<sup>c</sup> Justin. Lib. 11. C. 14.--293. Vossius, however, in opposition to Q. Curtius (Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--293.) and Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--214.) maintains the present reading of Justin, and supposes the Cydnus and Lycus to have equally disgorged themselves into the Tigris.

<sup>f</sup> "Apud Tarsum bellum opponit." (Orosius. Lib. 3. C. 17.--184.) The error is indefensible.

<sup>g</sup> Q. Curtius. Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--305.

of the error, for he makes the Tigris and the Euphrates, to water Media and Parætacene,<sup>h</sup> a Northern province of Persia.<sup>i</sup>

In the letter, which Q. Curtius supposes Darius to have addressed to Alexander, he informs the Macedonian Monarch, that “he<sup>k</sup> would find himself obliged to pass the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Hydaspes, which were like so many bulwarks to his dominions.”<sup>l</sup> These expressions would naturally lead us to imagine, that the Persian empire lay beyond the Hydaspes. The Araxes appears also to be transported to the East of the Tigris. Perhaps however a river of that name, which passed by Persepolis, might be alluded to; though from the circumstance of the Araxes being mentioned amongst the other great rivers of Asia, it might be suspected to be the river, which discharges itself into the Caspian sea.—Alexander in his answer to Darius, informs him, that his intention was to make himself master of Persepolis, the capital of the Persian monarch, and afterwards of Bactra, and Ecbatana. Q. Curtius mentions Ecbatana the last,<sup>m</sup> as if it had been beyond Bactra.

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The

<sup>h</sup> “Ενεχθέντες δὲ διὰ Μηδίας καὶ Παρτακηνῆς, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν.” Diod. Sicul. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--125.

<sup>i</sup> Herodotus. Lib. 1.--52.

<sup>k</sup> “Transeundum esse Alexandro Euphraten, Tigrinque et Araxen, et Hydaspem, magna munita regni sui.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--191.

<sup>l</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 1.--212.

<sup>m</sup> “Persepolim caput regni ejus, Bactra deinde et Ecbatana.” Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--192.

The Macedonian army, in its march from Susa to penetrate into the interior provinces of the East, was obliged according to Diodorus Siculus <sup>n</sup> to pass the Tigris. This error is probably but the consequence of the former mistake, which he had made, respecting the course of this river, and which hath been already noticed. The judicious Palmer <sup>o</sup> hath not perceived it, because he wished to substitute the Pasitigris for the Tigris, which often occurs in the text of Diodorus Siculus. The repetition itself proves that the common reading is correct, and to vary the passages of the ancient writers upon frivolous pretensions, would be to expose them incessantly to the caprice of critics and grammarians. The opinion that the Tigris, from its receiving the waters of Susa, and the different channels of the Euphrates, took afterwards the name of Pasitigris, <sup>p</sup> seems to be confirmed by the navigation of Nearchus, <sup>q</sup> and some expressions of Pliny. <sup>r</sup> Alexander's historians have, notwithstanding, confounded the Pasitigris with the Orates or Oroatis, <sup>s</sup> which separates Persia from Susa,

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<sup>n</sup> Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 17.--211.

<sup>o</sup> Palmer. Exercit. apud Auctores Græcos, 138, 139.

<sup>p</sup> Recherches Geograph. sur le Golfe Persique par d'Anville.—Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tom. 30.--173, &c.—See also Strabo. Lib. 15.--1060.

<sup>q</sup> Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 42.--633.

<sup>r</sup> "Ubi remeavere aquæ, Pasitigris vocatur." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 27. Tom. 1.--716.

<sup>s</sup> Yet Strabo tells us, "Πασιτιγιν απο τε Οροατιδος διεχεν περι δισχιλιους σταδιους." Lib. 15. --1060.

and which in all probability Diodorus Siculus hath taken for the Tigris.

After the death of Darius, Alexander pursued the Persian monarch's assassins, and the remains of the Persian army, and pressed forward into that part of Asia near the Caspian sea, and beyond the Iaxartes, which was an important discovery to the Greeks, who had only been till then acquainted with the countries to the West of the Tigris and Euphrates. The Athenian orators were struck with the rapid conquests of the Macedonian troops, and the tribune resounded with harangues on the astonishing relations of their exploits. Æschines cried out ' in the midst of one of the popular assemblies, " that " Alexander was at a distance farther than the Pole, almost beyond the limits of the habitable world." \* Such was the impression that the discoveries of the Macedonian Monarch made upon his contemporaries. The orator may indulge himself in a paroxysm of enthusiasm, but the philosopher will scrutinize more calmly the history of events, and sanction only those, which have the support of reason, and are authorized by truth.

OF

\* " Æschine s'ecria," I give the French expression to justify the corresponding passage. One part of the Athenian Senate, either in the pay or interest of Alexander, or from views of opposition, might find their purpose in magnifying the victories of the Macedonian Monarch, but the Greek orator, in the sentence alluded to, reasons merely from the distance, which then separated them.

† " Ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξω τῆς Ἀρκτὸς καὶ τῆς οἰκωμένης ὀλίγη δὲιν πάσης μεθεῖσηκε." Æschines contra Ctesiph. Demost. Opera. 454. Folio. Franc. 1604.

\* Leland's Orations of Æschines and Demosthenes, Vol. 3.--100, 8<sup>vo</sup>

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OF THE CASPIAN SEA.

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The ancient Persians had some correct notions of the Caspian sea, though they were not sufficiently acquainted with the whole of its shape and figure, as we may gather from Herodotus. This Greek historian most probably borrowed his ideas from the Persians, who neither pushed their knowledge very far, nor acquired that degree of certainty, which might have been expected from them, owing to the abhorrence of all maritime expeditions, which they derived from their religious institutions.<sup>y</sup> They were persuaded also, that the coasts of these seas were frequented by evil Genii, of whom they had fears and apprehensions.<sup>z</sup>——The Greeks, who succeeded them in the empire of the East, sailed generally to the Southward, and the Easterly and Westerly winds,<sup>a</sup> which blew almost incessantly in those roads, with the want of proper and convenient ports,<sup>b</sup> prevented them extending their voyages on  
such

<sup>y</sup> We are told by Pliny, speaking of Tiridates, “*Navigare noluerat, quoniam exspuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant.*” *Hist. Nat. Lib. 30. C. 2. Tom. 4.--730.*

<sup>z</sup> *Memoires de Monsieur Anquetil. Hist. de l’Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 31.--373.*

<sup>a</sup> Q. Curtius informs us, that there is also a great and heavy sea, which sets in from the North. “*A Septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit.*” *Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.*

<sup>b</sup> “*Onne atrox, sævum, sine portubus, procellis undique expositum; ac belluis magis quam cetera*



such stormy coasts. They relied on the neighbouring nations for information, and what they picked up from them was the source of numerous and multiplied errors. It is to the Russians that we are indebted for the present geographical system, and they have at last dissipated that mist of ignorance, in which this part of the world was enveloped. By repeated observations, the greatest length of the Caspian sea hath been demonstrated to be from North to South,<sup>c</sup> and that it has neither any communication with the Ocean, nor adjoining seas.

The ancient geographers were divided in opinion respecting the figure of the Caspian sea. By some, it was supposed to be of an oblong shape : <sup>d</sup> others concluded that it was round. It is astonishing, however, that the sentiments of Herodotus were not universally admitted. We understand from him, that an oared vessel might sail in fifteen days from end to end, and might cross it in eight.<sup>e</sup> If we reckon, according to the calculation of many of the ancient authors, and even of Herodotus, the track of this vessel at  
five

*cetera refertum, et ideo minus navigabile.*" (P. Mela. Lib. 3. C. 5.--267.) The "Bellux" might be the evil Genii of the Persians.

<sup>c</sup> *Memoire de Monsieur de l'Isle. Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences. 1741.--245.*

<sup>d</sup> *Μηνοειδης εσα, κατα δε τινας κ' εβδομηκης.*" Agathemerus. Lib. 1. C. 3.--184. Ed. Gronov. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1700.

<sup>e</sup> *"Η δε Κασπιν, εσι ετεση επ' εωτης, εσα μην⊙ μεν πολυ, εφιστη χρεωμενω, πεντε κ' δεκα ημερε-  
ων' ευξ⊙ δε, τη ευρυτατη εσι αυτη εωτης, οκτω ημερεων.*" Herod. Lib. 1.--96.

five hundred stadia,<sup>f</sup> which ought in fact to be eight hundred or a thousand, the length of the Caspian sea, will be found within nearly five hundred stadia of that given to it in the modern discoveries, though the eight days' passage cannot be reconciled with any correct chart. The calculation of Agathemerus is more moderate, and he reduces it to two thousand five hundred stadia,<sup>g</sup> the extent which it really has on the Southern side; but the measure of eight thousand two hundred stadia, which he allows to the coasts of the Caspian sea, from the mouth of the Cyrus to that of the Iaxartes, is not equally just and accurate.

Eratosthenes had collected with care the observations of different persons, on the distance and extent of the coast of the sea, which bordered Albania and the country of the Cadusians, for the space of five thousand four hundred stadia; the country of the Mardi, as far as the mouths of the Oxus, for four thousand eight hundred; and from thence to the Iaxartes, which again took in two thousand four hundred stadia,<sup>h</sup> amounting in the whole

<sup>f</sup> "Απο δὲ Ἡλιεπολίδος εἰς Θηῶας ἐστὶ ἀναπλοῦν ἑννεα ἡμερῶν· σταδίοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἑξήκοντα καὶ οκτακοσιοὶ καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι." (Heredot. Lib. 2.--107.) These four thousand eight hundred and sixty stadia allow five hundred and ninety for each day's sail, and the calculation appears to be adopted in general by the ancient authors. The turbulence of the Caspian sea might however reduce the reckoning.

<sup>g</sup> "Πλάτῳ δὲ πλεῖστον β. φ. μιλίων δὲ τ. λ. δ." Agathemerus. Lib. 2. C. 14.--243.

<sup>h</sup> "Φησὶ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης τὸν ὑπο τῶν Ἑλλήνων γνωρίμων περιπλεντὴς θαλάττης ταύτης, τὸν μὲν πᾶσα τῆς Ἀλβανίας, καὶ τῆς Καδουσίας, εἶναι πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων· τὸν δὲ πᾶσα τὸν Ἀναξιακῶν, καὶ Μαρδων, καὶ Ἰρκανῶν, μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὀξοῦ, τετρακισχιλίων καὶ οκτακοσίων· ἐνθεν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰαξαρίτου δισχιλίων τετρακοσίων." Strabo. Lib. 11.--773.

whole to twelve thousand six hundred stadia. Artemidorus computed the distance at fifteen hundred and seventy-five,<sup>i</sup> which is not widely different from the present ideas, though they are not still as accurate as might be wished. Strabo assures us, that the Caspian sea was little known beyond the Iaxartes, and that too much caution cannot be taken, in giving credit to any accounts of the Northern part of it,<sup>k</sup> with which the Ancients had but a very dubious acquaintance. The name indeed of the Caspian sea, according to Pliny, did not extend beyond the Cyrus.<sup>l</sup>

It appears from the different computations, which have been already alluded to, that many authors of antiquity were aware, though their notions were far from being perfect, that the greatest extent of the Caspian sea was from North to South. Ptolemy, however, hath totally disregarded the opinion, and allows twenty-three degrees and a half from West to East, which is four times its extent.<sup>m</sup>

## S s

## The

<sup>i</sup> "Eratoſthenes ponit et menſuram: ab exortu et meridie, per Caduſiæ et Albanæ oram quinque mille C. C. C. C. ſtad. Inde per Anariacas, Amardos, Hyrcanos, ad oſtium Oxi fluminis, quatuor mille D. C. C. C. ſtad. Ab eo ad oſtium Iaxartis M. M. C. C. C. C. ſtad. Quæ ſumma efficit quindecies centena ſeptuaginta quinque M. paſſuum." (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--668, 669.) The calculation therefore was that of Eratoſthenes, and Pliny is only reſponſible for the reduction of the ſtadia to the Roman meaſure.

<sup>k</sup> "Δει δε περι των εν τη μεριδι ταυτη, ης τοις επι τοσητον εκτετοπιſμενοις απληſτερον αυειν, ης μαλιστα περι των διαſηματων." Strabo. Lib. 11.--774.

<sup>l</sup> "A Cyro Caſpium mare vocari incipit: accolunt Caſpii." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--670.

<sup>m</sup> See the obſervations on the Caſpian ſea. Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Sciences. 1721.--247.

The result of this extensive and undue extent in Longitude has been, that all the countries of Asia, within the twentieth and fortieth degrees of North Latitude, have been stretched to one hundred and ninety degrees of Longitude, and by this means, China is placed six hundred leagues more Easterly than it ought to be,<sup>a</sup> and the position of the different nations hath been thrown farther to the East. The Western regions have been equally misplaced, and a part of Albania, the Caspians, the Caducians, and the Geles, instead of occupying the Western shore of the Caspian sea, have been transported to the South.<sup>o</sup> Monsieur de Buffon, attributes the origin of this error to a supposition, that the lake Aral was considered as a part of the Caspian sea. "We shall find," this great Naturalist informs us, "that the Western coast of the Caspian sea, to the Eastern shore of the lake Aral, extends to a greater length than the distance from the Southern coast to the Northern coast of the same sea."<sup>p</sup> The best modern charts do not agree with this system, and on measuring the space of which Monsieur de Buffon speaks, it will be found, on the contrary, that the Caspian sea will have a third more of Latitude than Longitude. Besides the ancient geographers have not in the least confounded the lake Aral with this sea, and the Orientals, who have given us  
some

<sup>a</sup> Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions. Tom. 25.--45.

<sup>o</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 2.

<sup>p</sup> "On trouvera encore que la longueur, depuis le bord Occidental de la mer Caspienne, jusqu'au bord Oriental du lac Aral est plus grande que la longueur depuis le bord meridional jusqu'au bord septentrional de la meme mer." Hist. Nat. Tom. 2.--41. Ed. 12<sup>me</sup>

some very particular information relative to this lake, have been equally deceived as to the extent of the Longitude of the Caspian sea.

Abulfeda, an Arabian prince, and an author in the early part of the fourteenth century, relates the opinion of Kotiddin, who fixed the Longitude of the Caspian sea, at two hundred and seventy parasangs.<sup>1</sup> Ali-Kohcsgi, a celebrated Oriental astronomer of the fifteenth century, included twenty-two parasangs in a degree, with a fraction of two thirds of a mile, three miles forming a parasang.<sup>2</sup> According to this calculation, Kotiddin will only have allowed eleven degrees a third and two miles of Longitude to the Caspian sea, which reduces it more than one half of Ptolemy's computation.

It is probable that the extent of the Caspian sea was not always the same, on the Eastern, Western, and Southern shores, and that it hath been subject to many changes. Perhaps even the Caspian sea might have once covered the sandy surface which now separates it from the lake Aral, and indeed its waters must have been much more considerable, as many great rivers, which formerly opened into it, have had their courses turned and flow into it no longer. Mr. Hanway's journal proves, that many alterations have

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happened

<sup>1</sup> "Tradit Kotiddinus ejus Longitudinem ab Oriente ad Occidentem 270 Parasangas," Abulfeda ex Versione Ask.

<sup>2</sup> D'Anville Mesures Itin, 96.



happened in the neighbouring countries, and this sagacious traveller remarks, that on entering the bay of Astrabad, on the South side<sup>e</sup> of the Caspian sea, it had gained so much on the coast and eaten it away, that in many parts of it, trunks of trees blocked up the shore and made it difficult to land. When the Russians first navigated the sea, they pretend that they found only five feet of water, during nine leagues to the South and South-East of Chiterie Bogorie; but for the last thirty years, the water hath deepened so much, that Mr. Hanway could not meet with any soundings at some distance from the coast, with a line of four hundred and fifty fathoms.<sup>t</sup>

Perhaps these alterations may have been the reason of the uncertainty of the figure of the Caspian sea, with which the Orientals were as little acquainted as the Ancients. The former have sometimes supposed that it was round or oval, at other times that it was triangular, and like the sail usually carried by one of their oared vessels. The observations made in the reign of Czar Peter the first, at last determined its figure,<sup>w</sup> though not exactly with geometrical

<sup>e</sup> Hanway's Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian sea. Vol. 1. C. 25.--164. C. 26.--166.

<sup>t</sup> Hanway's Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian sea. Vol. 1. C. 24.--155.

<sup>w</sup> For the Honour of GREAT BRITAIN, the Moderns are indebted, as Dr. Robertson observes, (Historical Disquisition on India. 205.) to Anthony Jenkinson for the first correct idea of the Caspian sea. The following is what Hakluyt terms "a notable description" of it. "The Caspian sea (to say something of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth one hundred

geometrical precision, for the chart of Monsieur d' Anville, published in 1754, differs in many particulars from the Czar's laid down by de l'Isle. The gulph of Jemba, which forms a bay, whose shores are the most Northern parts of this sea, hath changed its shape in the chart of Monsieur d' Anville, and advances a degree and a half to the South.

The point with the name of Mertovit Kultuk, is there extended in Longitude more than any part of it in Monsieur de l'Isle's chart. The figure of the bay of Balkan hath experienced a similar variation, and in short Monsieur d' Anville's observations, have induced him to alter many of his predecessor's positions and bearings on the borders of this sea.—Herodotus assures us, that the Caspian sea had no communication with the neighbouring ones,<sup>x</sup> and Aristotle describes it as a lake, situated at the foot of  
mount

hundred and fifty, without any issue to other seas: to the East whereof, joyneth the great desert country of the Tartars, called Turkemen; to the West, the countreys of the Chyrcaffes, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian sea a hundred leagues. To the North, is the river Wolga, and the Land of Nagay, and to the South part joyne the countreys of Media and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great ocean. It hath many goodly rivers falling into it, and it avoideth not it selfe except it be under ground. The notable rivers that fall into it, are first the great river of Wolga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a Marriish or plainè ground, not farre from the citie of Novogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the sea, above two thousand English miles. It hath divers other goodly rivers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic and Yem: also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the rivers of Cyrus and Aras, and divers others."

Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, Vol. 1.--334.

<sup>x</sup> "Ἡ δὲ Κασπία θάλασσα ἐστὶν ἐνὶ ἑωυτῆς, καὶ συμμιγνύσα τῇ ἐν τῇ θάλασσῃ." Herodot. Lib. 1.  
--96.

mount Caucasus, and adds that they called this lake, which was circumscribed by the habitations of different people, a sea. <sup>y</sup>

Alexander's conquests, instead of confirming the want of a communication in the Caspian sea with the neighbouring ones, gave birth to a multitude of errors or lent them fresh credit and support. Diodorus Siculus <sup>z</sup> is the only one of the Conqueror's historians, that embraced the opinion of Herodotus; and though Plutarch confesses that the Macedonian Monarch could learn nothing certain of this sea, he still hath no scruples of advancing that it was a gulph of the Northern ocean. <sup>a</sup> This erroneous conclusion was adopted by most of the Greek and Latin writers, <sup>b</sup> whose names it is unnecessary to mention; and even the judicious Strabo <sup>c</sup> is not to be excepted, who criticises unjustly Polycletus, on his having termed the Caspian sea a lake. Monsieur de l'Isle believes, that the Ancients were deceived by the great resemblance between the

<sup>y</sup> "Ἀλλ' ἡ γὰρ ἵππο τον Καυκασον λιμνη, ἣν καλεσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ θάλασσαν." Arist. Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Tom. 1.--770. Folio. 1654.

<sup>z</sup> Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18.--260, 261.

<sup>a</sup> "Αὐτῷ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀκμαιοτάτης δυναμείας εἰς Ὑγκανίαν κατέβαινε· καὶ πελάγους ἰδὼν κολπον, ἐκ ἐλαττονα μὲν τῷ ποντὶ φανέντα, γλυκυτέρον δὲ τῆς ἀλλῆς θαλάττης, σάφες μὲν ἔδει εἶσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ εἰκάσει τῆς Μαιωτιδῶς λιμνῆς ἀνακοπήν εἶναι· καὶ τοὶ τῆς γε φυσικῆς ἀνδρῶς ἐκ ἐλαττοῦ ταλῆδες, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἐτίσιν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἰσότηκαν ὅτι τεσσαρῶν κολπῶν εἰσεκόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξω θαλάσσης, βορειοτάτῃ οὗτῃ εἰναι, τὸ Ὑγκανιον πελάγῳ καὶ Κασπίον ὅμῃ προσαγορευόμενον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. C. 15. Tom. 1.--668, 669, &c. &c.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 2.—Dionys. Perieg. V. 722. Eustath. Comment. 96. Ed. Steph. 4<sup>to</sup> 1577.—J. Solinus. C. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

the strait, by which they supposed this sea opened into the Northern ocean, and the mouth of the Volga. This river runs from the North in a Southerly direction, and widens at its entrance into the Caspian sea, which receives many rivers without ever overflowing. The phenomenon may be perhaps explained on the principles of evaporation, by which a quantity of water passes off, equal to that, which the sea receives.<sup>d</sup>

A conjecture, not less probable, arises from the route of the Scythians, when they formerly engaged in commerce on the Northern ocean. They mounted the Volga and the Kama, and to reach the Petzora, which throws itself into this sea, they carried their merchandize about half a league over land, though it was not mentioned, being only a trifle in comparison of their tedious passage by water.<sup>e</sup> We have another example of this mode of executing a long voyage principally on rivers, in the chart of Japan, which Kœmpfer brought along with him into Europe, and deposited in Sir Hans Sloane's museum. It hath been since published by Monsieur de Guignes.<sup>f</sup> The Saghalion, is there represented as united by the lake Paikal or Baikalmore to the Lena, notwithstanding there are two carrying-places in this route. The  
North

<sup>d</sup> See the very ingenious theory of Dr. Halley. *Philosoph. Transact.* 1687.--186. 202. *Perry* (State of Russia) hath even calculated the quantity of water, which the Caspian sea received from the Volga every minute.

<sup>e</sup> *Confiderat. Geograph.* par Mons. Buache. 147.

<sup>f</sup> *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions.* Tom. 28.--503.

North American Indians, entertain nearly the same ideas with the Japanese, on the junction of their respective lakes and rivers, as may be gathered from a comparison of the chart, traced by Ochagach the Indian, before the French officers sent to make discoveries, and the observations, which they had personally made.<sup>s</sup> Champlain, to whom the French establishment in Canada owed its origin, related that the Indians informed him by mounting the Saguenay, in forty or fifty days he might arrive at the Northern ocean. We know decidedly that this river receives that of the Chefoumatau, by which there is a passage, with one carrying-place to the lakes of the Mistassins, and from these lakes they descend by the Kiche-Kupitan, or the great opening into Hudson's bay.

Objects frequently present themselves under the same aspect to those people, whose knowledge is very limited, and to those, who are not civilized. The Scythians were the Savages of the ancient Continent, and it is from their accounts, that Scymnus of Chio, in all likelihood, hath related that the Tanais derives its source from the Araxes,<sup>h</sup> which is the Rha or Volga. But the Araxes was a term applied by the Ancients to many rivers, notwithstanding Herodotus principally designs by it the Volga, which approaches very near the Twia, at the distance of eight leagues from the  
Tanaïs,

<sup>s</sup> Confiderat. Geograph. de Mons. Buache. Chart 8.

<sup>h</sup> "Εἰς ἣν ὁ Ταναις ἀπο τῆ ποταμῆ λαβὼν  
Τὸ γεῦμα Ἀρράξειως ἐπιμισγεται."

Scymni Fragm. 128, 129. Geog. Vet. Script. Min. Græc. Tom. 2.--50.



Tanais,<sup>i</sup> of which it was supposed by Aristotle to be a branch.<sup>k</sup> The Scythians, who navigated the two rivers, circulated a report that they joined each other, just as the Caspian sea was imagined to have had a communication with the Ocean. A passage of Artemidorus, published a few years<sup>l</sup> since, confirms this explanation, and we learn from it, that the Tanais had two openings, by one of which it fell into the Palus Mæotis, and by the other flowed into Scythia. The Rha or Wolga is to be understood by the latter, that crosses Asiatic Scythia before it throws itself into the Caspian sea, which Artemidorus after Aristotle's opinion, adopted also by Ptolemy, considers as a branch of the Tanais.

This is not, however, the only example in geography of such communications,<sup>m</sup> which may be traced to the Scythians. The whole space of country between the Euxine and Caspian seas being inhabited by these people, the Phasis, Araxes, and many other rivers, which on a junction with them lost their own names, served to connect them with the different tribes of their extended na-

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tion,

<sup>i</sup> The Baron de St. Croix observes also that even this distance is reduced by two other rivers, one of which runs into the Don, and the other into the Wolga. See likewise Perry's State of Russia.

<sup>k</sup> "Καὶ ὁ Ἀρξάνης τέρη δ' ὁ Τανναῖς ἀποσχιζέται μερῶν." Aristot. Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Tom. 1.--768.

<sup>l</sup> Vangoens Notes on Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum. 87.

<sup>m</sup> There is a very curious and intelligent memoir of Monsieur Buache, on the supposed communications of different rivers and seas, which have in our times disappeared. Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences.

tion, and with a very short passage over land, which they do not mention, they generally moved by water. Their relations might then have very naturally established the supposed junction of the Phasis and Araxes with the Lycus, of which Apollonius Rhodius<sup>n</sup> hath spoken. That of the Ister with the Ionian sea or Adriatic gulph and the Pontus Euxinus, which we are told of by the same author, have no other origin. The Greek poet adopted the opinion of Timagetes,<sup>o</sup> who assures us that the Argonauts on mounting the Ister reached the sea, which bathes the sides of Italy<sup>p</sup> and part of Greece. We know the Danube, at some distance from its rise,

<sup>n</sup> “—————Παρχα πρὸς ὅχῳσι Λυκοῖοι,  
 Ὅ τ’ ἀποκινδυνάμεν ὠπταμὲν κελადόντ’ Ἀρξέξειω  
 Φασιδί συμφύεσθαι ἱέρων ῥοόν’ οἱ δὲ συν ἁμῶ  
 Καυκάσῳ ἀλαδ’ εἰς ἐν ἐλαυνόμενοι πρὸς ὅχῳσιν.”

Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4. V. 132—134.

See also the Scholia. Ed. Hoelzlin. 398. 8<sup>vo</sup> L. B. 1641.

° “Ce poëte a suivi l’opinion de Timosthenes.” “Τιμαγήτῳ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ λιμένων, τὸν Ἰζρόν φησὶ καταφύεσθαι ἐκ τῶν Κελτικῶν ὄρων· εἴτα ἐκδιδόναι εἰς Κελτικὴν λιμῆν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς δύο σχιζέσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον εἰσβάλλειν, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν θαλάσσαν· διὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ φύματα πλεῖν τῆς Ἀργοναυτίας, καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς Τυρρηνίαν· κατακόλῃ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ.” (Scholia. ad Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4. V. 258. Ed. Hoelzlin. 409.) The Baron de St. Croix for Timagetes hath boldly substituted Timosthenes, who had, he says, the command of the fleet of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was the author of some geographical details in ten books. The name, however, of Timagetes again occurs in the commentary on the 284<sup>th</sup> Verse of the 4<sup>th</sup> Book of Apollonius Rhodius, and I have restored it. From the repetition of the words, it cannot be supposed to be an error.

<sup>p</sup> “Ἐνθα διχῇ τὸ μὲν ἐνθα μετ’ Ἴονιν ἀλα βαλλεῖ  
 Τῇδ’ ὕδωρ, τὸ δ’ ὅπισθε βαδὺν διὰ κόλπον ἴησι  
 Σκίζομεν ὧν τε Τρηνάκιον εἰσανέχοντα.”

Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4.--289—291.

rise, approaches the Adriatic gulph, with which a communication might easily be opened, if a junction of it was formed with the river, which runs into the Adriatic gulph near Aquilea, and which is only separated from the Danube by a narrow tract of country.

It is then very probable that Patroclus, who commanded the fleets of Seleucus and Antiochus, might more easily have taken the mouths of the Volga for a strait,<sup>1</sup> as the mistake was supported by the opinions of the natives, and they went by water to the Northern ocean. This navigator would naturally lose no time in publishing his pretended discovery, or rather the confirmation of the report of the Macedonians, who followed Alexander; and from this circumstance we may date the errors of the cotemporary and later writers. P. Mela hath represented this strait, which served as a communication with the Caspian sea and that of the Northern ocean, as long, very narrow, like a river, and continuing its course in a direct line, as it approached its opening into the sea. Under this description the Volga cannot be mistaken.

Ptolemy, with the advantage of various relations, comes over to the sentiments of Herodotus, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus and Polycletus, and he tells us in his geography, that the Caspian sea

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is

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. Lib. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Mare Caspium, ut angusto, ita longo etiam freto, primum terras, quasi fluvius, irrupit."

P. Mela. Lib. 3. C. 5.--266.

is furrounded on all sides by land, and that it resembles, when compared to the Continent, an island in the midst of the waves. \*

In the number of events and revolutions, which Providence hath brought about in different ages of the world, though they may have been fatal to the inhabitants of the countries that were immediately exposed to them, the circle of human knowledge was certainly extended. By one of these political convulsions, the opinions respecting the Caspian sea were reduced to a certainty, and its supposed communication with the Ocean proved to have been imaginary. Under the Arabian Caliphs the Northern regions were explored, and their conquests and incursions are clearly ascertained by the medals of these Sovereign princes, that are often found in the ancient tombs which are so numerous on the borders of Petzora.† It was then generally known, that the Caspian sea had no communication whatever with the Northern ocean, and Abulfeda indeed with the other Oriental geographers were never ignorant of it.‡—Arrian,§ however, and Q. Curtius¶ have notwithstanding

\* Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 5.

† Strahlenberg's Hist. Geographical Description of the North and Eastern part of Europe and Asia. Sect. 6.--117.

‡ "Nec conjungitur cum mari ambiente, nec cum alio ex maribus de quibus sermo præcessit."  
Abulfeda ex Versione Ask. Eldrisi. Geog. Nub. 243.

§ Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 26.--396.

¶ "Quidam credidere, non Caspium mare esse; sed ex Indiâ in Hyrcaniam cadere." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--411, 412.

notwithstanding declared that the Caspian sea had a communication with the Indian ocean, by which the tract of land between the two seas must be considerably narrowed. This erroneous idea of the two historians perhaps induced Artemidorus to believe, that the Caspian sea was at no great distance from the Ocean,<sup>a</sup> and that the Caspians, who dwelt upon its shores, were the borderers of Persia; from which, that part of Asia situated between the Caspian sea and Indian ocean, the later including the whole expanse of water that washes the Southern side of Asia, was diminished five degrees in Latitude, and all the nations, that occupied this space of country, are made to disappear.

We learn from Polycletus,<sup>a</sup> that the water of the Caspian sea was fresh, and Plutarch<sup>b</sup> and Q. Curtius<sup>c</sup> have adopted the opinion, which is not altogether destitute of truth. Abulfeda relates, after a traveller, whose name he does not mention, that the water of this sea changes its colour on the Northern shore, and that it is freshened so much by the river Atal or Atalcus, which is the modern Volga, as to be serviceable even at the distance of a day's sail,

<sup>a</sup> "Περὶ τῆς Κασπίης θαλάσσης ἴσχει Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν γεωγραφημένων· ἐστὶ δὲ πλεῖστον τὸ Ὠκεανός." Schol. ad Appol. Rhod. Lib. 3. V. 858. Ed. Hoelzlin. L. B. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1641.

<sup>a</sup> "Πολυκλείτης δὲ καὶ πρὶς προσφέρειναι περὶ τῆς λίμνης εἶναι τὴν θαλάτταν ταύτην καὶ ὑπογλυκὺν εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ." Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

<sup>b</sup> "Γλυκύτερον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

<sup>c</sup> "Mæotim paludem in id cadere putant: et argumentum adferunt: aquam, quo dulcior sit quam cetera maria, infuso paludis humore mitefcere." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4.--410.



fail, which may be calculated at nearly twelve leagues.<sup>d</sup> Father Avril on the contrary limits its effects, and assures us that the fresh water extends only two leagues from the shore.<sup>e</sup> The Ancients, who seldom ventured out of the sight of land, concluded that the rest of the Caspian sea was like that, which they had before their eyes, but Le Bruyn<sup>f</sup> and many other travellers<sup>g</sup> have not forgotten to mention the singularity. Perhaps we may be tempted to suppose, with Monsieur de Buffon,<sup>h</sup> that it became only salt slowly, and by degrees. The rivers, that lose themselves in this sea, have continually brought along with them salts, which they detached from the earth in their passages, and these salts have not been dissipated by evaporation. It is possible also, that the difference between Abulfeda and Father Avril, may be owing to the observations made on the different parts of the coasts, on which they landed. The freshness of the Caspian sea could not have been always the same at an equal distance from the coast, but must

<sup>d</sup> "Mercator, qui in hoc mari navigavit, ita dicens, cum ad finem illius maris ad septentrionem pervenimus, illam aquam salam ac limpidam colore mutatam comperi; tunc dictum fuit mihi illam aquam esse fluminis Atalci maris aquis mixtam, cumque ex illâ bibissem eam dulcem esse deprehendi, et ita prope diem per mare dulce navigavimus." Abulfeda ex Vers. Ask.

<sup>e</sup> Voyages en divers Etats d'Europe et d'Asie. 86.

<sup>f</sup> Voyages de Le Bruyn. Tom. 3.--459. Ed. 4<sup>to</sup>

<sup>g</sup> Voyages d'Olearius. 513.

<sup>h</sup> Histoire Naturelle. Tom. 2.--176. Ed. 12<sup>mo</sup> The Baron de St. Croix observes that Pliny appears to strengthen Monsieur de Buffon's system. "Præterea apud Bactros amnes Ochus et Oxus, ex appositis montibus deferunt salis ramenta." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 31. C. 7. Tom. 4.--805. 4<sup>to</sup> 1685.

must have varied according to the quantity of water, which the neighbouring rivers poured into it, and the velocity with which it was discharged, as it would be conveyed to a distance proportionable with its rapidity. ✕ Strabo reproaches the companions of Alexander's arms with the invention of many falsities on the subject of the Caspian sea,<sup>i</sup> and with having confounded it with the Palus Mæotis: Plutarch<sup>k</sup> and Q. Curtius<sup>l</sup> inform their readers that this lake of European Scythia joined the Palus Mæotis, but this error may be attributed to the incorrect notions of the Ancients relative to the lake Aral, which they imagined to be the Palus Mæotis.—Herodotus relates that the country inhabited by the Chorasians, the Hyrcanians and some other people, was watered by the river Aces or Akes. The precise place, where it disgorged itself, was between two mountains:<sup>m</sup> being banked up and secured with locks by the orders of the king of Persia, its course was thus stopped, and it formed a spacious lake, covering the plain between the two mountains.<sup>n</sup> The whole country became very

<sup>i</sup> “Προσεδοξατο δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς θαλάττης πολλὰ ψεῦδη διὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρῆ φιλοτιμίαν———eis ἐν συνήγον τὴν τε Μαιωτίν λιμνὴν τὴν δεχομένην τὸν Τανναῖν, καὶ τὴν Κασπίαν θαλάτταν.” Strabo. 11.  
--777.

<sup>k</sup> “Μαλιστα δὲ εἰκάσθαι τῆς Μαιωτιδῆς λιμνῆς ἀνακοπὴν εἶναι.” De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

<sup>l</sup> “Mæotim paludem in id cadere putant.” Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.

<sup>m</sup> The Baron de St. Croix observes these Locks are termed by Sherefeddin “Coluga,” or the “Iron Gate.” Hist. de Timur. Lib. 3. C. 2. Lib. 6. C. 23.

<sup>n</sup> “Τὰς διασφαγὰς τῶν ὑερῶν ἐνδείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς, πύλας ἐπέκαθη διασφαγῇ ἐποίησε· ἀποκεκλήμεναι δὲ τῇ ὕδατι τῆς ἐξόδου, τὸ πεδῖον το ἐντὸς τῶν ὑερῶν, πελαγὸς γίνεταί.” Herod. Lib. 3.--256.

very clamorous on the occasion, and the Persian monarch, throwing down the mound, which he had ordered to be erected, the Akes or Aces returned into its old channel, and on the usual tribute being paid, was again permitted to fertilize the country. ° In this description the Oxus is clearly ascertained, and the pass of Dehani-Chir, where the river is compressed into a narrow compass is exactly pointed out. We need not be astonished that Herodotus, who took up his information from report, should have confounded this pass with the lake formed by the waters of the Oxus, which is in fact the Aral. The mountains or bold steep sides, with which it is surrounded gave some reason for the mistake, and the Greek historian had certainly some proper ideas of this lake, known afterwards under the name of the Oxian lake, though all of them were not correct. In the remotest antiquity indeed, the Oxus always in some measure ran into this lake, and augmented it with at least some part of its waters.

The Turkish geographer informs us, that the Dgeihoun, which is the Oxus, on quitting the sands, which will be hereafter taken notice of, divides itself into many streams; those of Kiahvare, Hezar-Afb, Kierdan Kierb, and Hare, supply the whole country with

° “Επεαν ὡν μέδεν σφι παραδιδῶται τὴ ὕδατῳ, ἐλθόντες ἐς τῆς Περσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες, πάντες καὶ αἱ τὰς θυγὰς τὴ βασιλεῶν, βῶσι ωρεόμενοι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάστιγα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τὸ φερεσας· ἐπεὰν δὲ διακοῖν ἡ γῆ σφῶν γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὗται μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκλείονται, ἀλλὰς δ’ ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἀλλοῖσι τοῖσι δεομένοισι μάστιγα τῶν λοιπῶν· ὥς δ’ ἐγὼ οἶδ’ ἀκρεσας, χεῖρματα μεγάλα πρησσομένῳ ἀνοίγει, παρὲξ τὴ φορεῖ.” Herod. Lib. 3.--256.

with water and are navigable.<sup>p</sup> Some of the branches of the Dgeilhoun throw themselves into the lake Kharefin or Aral, whilst this river passes along the valley of Kierlave, roaring so as to be heard to the distance of two leagues, and afterwards discharges itself into the Caspian sea near Kahlkahl, ten days' journey from Charefinus.

These details serve to illustrate the text of Ptolemy, from whom we learn that many streams rise in the Sogdian mountains, situated between two rivers. These two rivers can only be the Oxus and Iaxartes, that receive the tributary streams, of which one forms the Oxian lake.<sup>q</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, who hath often translated Ptolemy, and sometimes appears to have added to him, gives us some idea of the Oxian lake by the expression of "far and widely extended,"<sup>r</sup> which can only agree with the lake of Aral. Pliny also mentions it by name, but he is mistaken in the supposition of its being the source of the Oxus,<sup>s</sup> that Ptolemy fixes in the thirty-ninth degree of Northern Latitude,<sup>t</sup> the lake being in

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<sup>p</sup> Geograph. Turc. 821, 822. and 884, 885.

<sup>q</sup> Ὁν εἰς ποιεῖ τὴν Ὀξίαν λίμνην. Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.

<sup>r</sup> "Oxiam nomine paludem efficiunt longe lateque diffusam." (Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--410, 411. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1693.) The Baron de St. Croix remarks that Ammianus Marcellinus hath translated the Greek word "λίμνην" of Ptolemy by "paludem" whereas it signifies both a lake and a marsh or fen, and that the former term would have agreed better both with the actual state of the Oxian lake, and the text of the Greek geographer.

<sup>s</sup> "Oxus amnis, ortus in lacu Oxo." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--676.

<sup>t</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.



the forty-fifth, which perfectly corresponds with the modern observations. It is true that the Greek geographer allows this Latitude to the middle of the lake, which should have been given to the Northern side of it, but the error is the result of the Ptolemean system, which throws back all the part of Asia beyond the Paropamisus, much farther North than it really is. Monsieur de l'Isle hath remarked, with great propriety, that the mouth of the Volga, which ought to be placed at the forty-sixth degree, is to be found at the forty-ninth, and the Southern shore of the Caspian sea at the fortieth degree instead of the thirty-seventh,\* an inaccuracy of great consequence and moment. With these errors, it is extraordinary that Ptolemy should have so nearly approached the true Latitude of the Aral or Kharefm, which is still called Ogouz by the Tartars. Its ancient name of Oxian was derived from the Oxus, of which the Aces or Akes was probably a corruption, and the affinity of the Oxus with the modern Ogouz is easily perceptible.

In the Calmuck and Mungal tongues, Ongon signifies the Gift of God, and Ogouz seems to be derived from this word. The Carakalpak Tartars, that inhabit the country near the lake Aral, conduct a thousand little streams from it over their sandy plains, and when the water is evaporated, their surface is covered with a sort of crystallized salt, which is the only one these Tartars as well as those of Casastichia-Orda, and of Charesmus are able to procure.

\* Memoire sur la mer Caspienne. Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences. 1721. 248.



procure. From the great advantages which all these nations receive from the Aral, its Tartar name may have been given to it on principles of gratitude, and they might consider it as one of the immediate gifts of heaven. On the whole, it may be reasonably inferred, that the Oxian lake is that of the Ogouz or Aral, which was known to the ancient geographers, though the contrary hath been supposed. \*

Polycletus<sup>y</sup> had confounded the Palus Mæotis with the Caspian sea, which received into it, according to Plutarch<sup>z</sup> and Q. Curtius,<sup>a</sup> this species of lake, whose true position Arrian<sup>b</sup> hath established in his history of Alexander's expeditions. From this circumstance, however, the Periplus of the Erythrean sea appears to have been falsely attributed to this Greek historian, as its author

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hath

\* The Baron de St. Croix observes, though Monsieur de Buffon assures us before the conquest of Peter the 1<sup>st</sup> "On ignoroit jusqu'à l'existence du lac Aral, qui en est éloigné (de la mer Caspienne) vers l'Orient, d'environ cent lieux, ou si on connoissoit quelques unes des cotés de ce lac Aral, on croyoit que c'étoit une partie de la mer Caspienne," (Hist. Nat. Tom. 2.--160. Ed. 12<sup>mo</sup>) that Eldrisi, who composed his Work in the 527<sup>th</sup> year of the Hegira, which answers to the 1149<sup>th</sup> and 1150<sup>th</sup> of the Vulgar Era, expressly mentions the lake of Aral, Kharem, or Chourasfm, according to the Maronite orthography, and that it is accurately distinguished from the Caspian sea. (Climat. 3. Part. 8.--138. Ed. 1619.) Abulfeda also speaks of this lake under the name of the Chourasfmian lake, which opens into the Dgeihoun or Gihon. Descript. Chorasm. Geograph. Minor. Tom. 3.--23.

<sup>y</sup> Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

<sup>z</sup> De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

<sup>a</sup> Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.

<sup>b</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 30.--254. See also Dodwell. Dissert. in Script. Geograph. Minor. Tom. 4.--85.

hath advanced, that the Palus Mæotis and Caspian sea discharge their waters together into the Ocean.<sup>c</sup>

These errors, respecting the communication of the two seas, possibly afforded reason for Clitarchus<sup>d</sup> to believe, that the Caspian sea and the Pontus Euxinus were the same. Q. Curtius perhaps adopted the opinion,<sup>e</sup> but he is little solicitous as to any consequences, which depend upon his sentiments, and both relates contrary hypotheses, and admits them without caution or distinction. The name of Tanais given to the Iaxartes, from a corruption of the word Iksærtæ, which in the Mungal language conveys the idea of a great river, may have strengthened the opinion. Diodorus Siculus,<sup>f</sup> Justin,<sup>g</sup> and Q. Curtius<sup>h</sup> have confounded these two

<sup>c</sup> “Καὶ ἡ.” Geograph. Minor. Tom. 1.--37.

<sup>d</sup> “Qui a crû que la mer Caspienne étoit la même que celle du pont Euxin.” The Baron de St. Croix supports the assertion by a reference to “Nam et irrumpit e Scythico oceano in averfa Asiæ, pluribus nominibus accolarum appellatum, celeberrimis duobus, Caspio et Hyrcanio. Non minus hoc esse quam Pontum Euxinum, Clitarchus putat.” (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--668.) Of the validity of the evidence the reader will judge.

<sup>e</sup> “Opinion adoptée par Q. Curce.” The Baron de St. Croix directs his readers to the following passages. “Cum vero venti a Pontico mari spirant quidquid fabuli in campis jacet converrunt.” (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--509.) “Asiæ omnia fere flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanum et in Ponticum decidunt.” (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--501.) On the former, Cellarius hath defended the Latin historian, though weakly, and argues that the wind blows, in the same direction, both from the Euxine and Caspian seas towards Bactria: in the latter, Q. Curtius seems to have distinguished them. I have added the hypothetical “Perhaps.”

<sup>f</sup> Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--261.

<sup>g</sup> Justin. Lib. 12. C. 5.--315.

<sup>h</sup> Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 6. Tom. 2.--525. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531, 532.

two rivers, which Plutarch<sup>i</sup> and Arrian<sup>k</sup> have discriminated, though the pride and vanity of the Macedonians wished to unite them.<sup>l</sup>

Ptolemy<sup>m</sup> knew the difference, but bowing with submission to the authority of the historians of the Conqueror of Asia respecting the altars, which this Prince erected on the banks of the Iaxartes in memory of his conquests, the Greek geographer hath transported them near the river Tanais, where, after running in a Southerly direction from its source, it approaches the Rha, and then turning to the West, stretches to the Palus Mæotis, in which it loses itself.

The Greek geographer following the same guides, hath multiplied the Scythians, as well as the Aorfes and Agathyrfes. These nations inhabited one side of the Tanais, where Ptolemy places them,<sup>n</sup> but he reckons them, notwithstanding, a second time  
amongst

<sup>i</sup> De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--691.

<sup>k</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 30.--254.

<sup>l</sup> “Επειδή γὰρ ὁμολογήτο, ὅτι ἐκ πάντων διέρχεται τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ταναις ποταμὸς, το δε μεταξὺ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ τῆς Ταναιδοῦ πολὺ μερὸς τῆς Ἀσίας οὐκ ἔχ’ ὑπεπέπτε τοῖς Μακεδόσι.” Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

<sup>m</sup> Ptolemy. Lib. 3. C. 5. The Baron de St. Croix accuses the editor of Ptolemy with a wilful intention of misunderstanding him, and of removing the altars in opposition to the Text of Ptolemy, to the foot of the Riphæan mountains.

<sup>n</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 3. C. 5.

amongst the Asiatic Scythians.\* If Pliny<sup>p</sup> appears to have not entirely avoided this mistake, he distinguishes at least by additional names the people of European Scythia, that he places near the Caspian sea, and understands the Aorſes by the Naſotiani, and the Arimaſpians by the Cacidari.<sup>q</sup> But perhaps theſe Asiatic Scythians were colonies of the European Scythians, and preſerved their names after their migrations.

The ignorance of Q. Curtius equalled his credulity. Deceived by the name of the Tanais, improperly given to the Iaxartes, he ſweeps from the ſurface of the earth all Aſia ſituated between theſe two rivers, and ſpeaks of Baſtria as the laſt province of Aſia, and ſeparated only from Europe by the Tanais, which he conſiders as the boundary of theſe two quarters of the world.<sup>r</sup> In direct contradiction to ſuch a declaration, he pretends in another part of his work, that the Scythians, who lived above the Cimmerian

\* Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 14.

<sup>p</sup> "Ultraque Choraſmii, Candari, Attaſini, Paricani, Sarangæ, Parrhaſini, Maratiani, Naſotiani, Aorſi, Gelæ, quos Græci Caduſios appellavere, Matiani." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--675, 676.

<sup>q</sup> "Arimaſpi antea Cacidari." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.

<sup>r</sup> "Tanais Europam et Aſiam medius interfluit," (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2.--398.) "Baſtrianos Tanais ab Scythiſ, quos Europæos vocant, dividit. Idem Aſiam et Europam finis interfluit. ————Si vero Tanaim transferimus—————Quis dubitavit patere etiam Europam victoribus? ————unus amnis interfluit, quem ſi trajicimus, in Europam arma proferimus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531——535.

merian Bosphorus, belonged to Asia.<sup>†</sup> The region, which extends above the Bosphorus and Palus Mæotis, is notwithstanding to the West of the Tanais, and consequently situated in Europe, and is inhabited by the Roxolanes and Iazyges, two nations of European Scythians.<sup>‡</sup> Q. Curtius hath fallen into this error, from having varied the situation of the mouth and the course of the Tanais, and advanced the Longitude five degrees. He adds afterwards, that the Scythians, from whom the Parthians sprung, did not come originally from the Bosphorus, but out of Europe.<sup>§</sup> In this manner he removes the Cimmerian Bosphorus into Asia, whilst the strait, by which the Palus Mæotis discharges itself into the Pontus Euxinus, forms the separation of Asia and of Europe, whose limits have been so strangely described.

The false and erroneous position of many nations is a necessary consequence. The Cercetes, the Mosynæcians, and the Chalybians, are placed on the left of the Caspian sea, and the Leucosyrians and the Amazons on the right.<sup>\*</sup> But the ancient geographers

<sup>†</sup> "Qui super Bosphorum colunt, adscribuntur Asiæ." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--398.

<sup>‡</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 3. C. 5.

<sup>§</sup> "Nec dubitatur, quin Scythæ, qui Parthos condidere, non a Bosphoro, sed ex regione Europæ penetraverint." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2.--398.

<sup>\*</sup> "Cercetæ, Mosyni, et Chalybes a lævâ sunt: ab alterâ parte Leucosyri et Amazonum campi; et illos qua vergit ad septentrionem; hos ad occasum conversa prospectat." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--409.



phers have uniformly established the Mosynæcians, the Chalybians, and their neighbours the Cercetes, called in later times the Apaïtes, in the mountains near the Pontus Euxinus,<sup>y</sup> and the Leucofyrians were the inhabitants of Cappadocia,<sup>z</sup> whose situation is well known, as well as the country of the fabulous Amazons, who were supposed to have occupied the plains of Themiscyra,<sup>a</sup> on the banks of the Thermodon. A single error in geography is the parent of many others, and Q. Curtius again justifies the observation. This Latin historian, after having varied the position of the Chalybians, adds that they were neighbours to the great cities of Sinope and Amifus.<sup>b</sup> Amifus was at the distance of twelve hundred Olympic stadia to the North-East of the Chalybians,<sup>c</sup> and Sinope, a celebrated

<sup>y</sup> Strabo. Lib. 12.--825.--Scylax. 79.--Dionys. Perieg. V. 768.—Et Eustathii Comment. ad Loc.—Xenophon. Exped. Cyri. Lib. 5.--379. 4<sup>to</sup> Oxon. 1735. These Mosynæci were also called Mossuni, and the learned reader may consult on the etymology of the name, Apollonius Rhodius. Lib. 2. V. 1018. &c. with the Scholia on it, and also on Lib. 5. V. 379.—Bochart. Phaleg. 3.-12.

<sup>z</sup> Herodotus. Lib. 1.--35. All the tract washed by the river Halys seems to be called, by the ancient authors, indiscriminately, Syria, Assyria and Leucofyria. See Apoll. Rhod. 947—966. with the Scholia.—Dionys. Perieg. V. 733.—Strabo. Lib. 12.--819.—Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 3. Tom. 1.--651.

<sup>a</sup> Strabo. Lib. 12.--823.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 19.--108, 109.

<sup>b</sup> "Cet historien, apres avoir changé la situation des Chalybes, ajoute que ce peuple etoit vois in de deux villes celebres, Sinope et Amifus." The Baron de St. Croix must be responsible for his own assertion, for though he refers his readers to the fourth Chapter of the sixth Book of Q. Curtius, not a syllable respecting either Sinope or Amifus is to be found in it.

<sup>c</sup> See the Chart of Asia Minor by d'Anville.

brated city of Paphlagonia, was twelve hundred stadia to the North-West of Amifus. <sup>d</sup>

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OF THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRIES of HIGHER ASIA.

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Pharasinanes the king of the Chorasmians came, according to Arrian, to meet Alexander, and he assured him, that he was a neighbour of Colchis and the Amazons, which is an absurd mistake, and originated like that of Q. Curtius, already noticed. The Chorasmians resided on the banks of the Oxus, to the East of the Caspian sea, a position, which Ptolemy hath accurately marked, <sup>e</sup> who is far from multiplying this nation, as hath been unjustly objected to him. <sup>f</sup> The name of Kharefm or Khoarefm, which hath been preserved with its ancient position by the Orientals, <sup>g</sup> suffi-

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ciently

<sup>d</sup> Marcian of Heraclea, (Geograph. Minor. Tom. 1.--74.) the Baron de St. Croix remarks, only reckons three hundred and fifty stadia between Sinope and Amifus, and he supposes an error in the numerical letters. Instead of the "τ ν" he reads "α ν," which will then agree with the calculation of the author of the Periplus Euxinus. "Απο δε Σινωπης εις Καρυταν πεντηκοντα ης εκατον (σταδιοι).-----ενθενδε εις Ζαγωρα αλλοι αυ πεντηκοντα ης εκατον ενθενδε εις τον Αλυν ποταμον, τριακοσι-----απο δε Αλυ<sup>ς</sup> ποταμου εις Ναυσαδμον, σταδιοι εννηκοντα-----ενθενδε εις Κωνωπειον αλλην λιμνην, αλλοι αυ πεντηκοντα; Απο δε Κωνωπειου εις Ευσηνην εκατον ης εικοσι ενθενδε εις Αμισον εκατον ης εξηκοντα." Arrian. Peripl. Pont. Euxin. 127, 128. 8<sup>vo</sup> Amst. 1683.

<sup>e</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 25.--52.

<sup>g</sup> Abulfeda. Geograph. Min. Tom. 3.--20.—Eldrisi. Geog. Min. 138.

ciently demonstrates the situation of this Scythian people, a tribe of the Saques or rather Saces, who were an Abian colony.

Alexander's historians have been accused of transporting the Abians of Europe into Asia,<sup>h</sup> but carrying our inquiries far back, they may possibly be justified. The Scythians have in fact occupied almost all the Northern regions of the ancient Continent, or with a greater accuracy of expression, the uniformity of manners and modes of life, so visible in the different tribes of people, who inhabited that extensive tract of country, gave the Greeks some reasons to comprise them under the general name of Scythians. Their proper name, we are told by Herodotus, was that of the Scolotes, derived from one of their kings:<sup>i</sup> they were considered only as one people, and in this sense is Thucydides also to be understood, when speaking of their force and power.<sup>k</sup> Superior in numbers to any other nation in Europe or in Asia, when united they were irresistible, and in reality they both peopled many countries, and spread themselves almost over the face of the whole earth.

The geographers distinguished the Scythians by the European and Asiatic Scythians, but the term is too vague and comprehensive. They may

<sup>h</sup> Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 26.--50.

<sup>i</sup> "Συμπασι δε ειναι νομα Σκολοτες, τη βασιλειω επωνυμειν" Σκυθας δε Έλληνες νομασαν." Herodot. Lib. 4.--282, 283.

<sup>k</sup> "Ταυτη δε αδυνατα εξισεσθαι εχ' οτι τα εν τη Ευρωπη, αλλ' εδ' εν τη Ασιη εδυναν εν προς εν εστιν ο, τα δυνατον Σκυθαις ομογενεμονεσι πασιν αντιστηναι." Thucydides. Hist. Lib. 2.--163.

may be more properly classed in the two separate divisions of the Nomades or wandering Scythians, and the Scythians who had fixed dwelling-places, and cultivated the country on which they settled. Ephorus has adopted the division.<sup>1</sup> In the origin indeed of society, it is perhaps the only one of any service in ascertaining the different nations of the world. Both the progress of civilization, which always strikes at the root of morality, and the foundation of towns and cities, that constantly increase at the expence of the surrounding countries, whose inhabitants they regularly swallow up, whilst at the same time they introduce a luxury, that soon renders contemptuous the sober duties of rural life, have always put an end to these two classes, which for the happiness of every people, were originally their sole distinctions.—With the ancient Persians there was indeed no other,<sup>m</sup> and they still subsist amongst the Tartars, who are the descendants of the Scythians. The powerful tribe of the Usbeck Tartars is divided into the Oulagets, who rove from place to place, and are shepherds by profession, and the Bukhars or Særtes, who live in villages, and have fixed habitations.<sup>n</sup> 'The shepherds or wandering Scythians were the most numerous, and included the Abians, a name which was given to any wandering nation, and which related to their form of life,

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that

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. Lib. 7.--463, 464.

<sup>m</sup> Herodotus. Lib. 1.--62, 63.

<sup>n</sup> Strahlenberg's Description of the North and Eastern part of Europe and Asia.

that Horace has described,<sup>o</sup> and in which, detached from those possessions that sometimes have an influence on the probity of the heart, they acquired a character of integrity, which even Homer celebrates.<sup>p</sup>

Aristarchus pretends that the name of Abians was confined to a particular nation,<sup>q</sup> and this opinion in some measure may agree with that which hath been adopted, and is authorized by the concurrent testimony of a crowd of writers, geographers, historians, and grammarians.<sup>r</sup> This appellation, after having been applied in general to all the wandering nations, was afterwards restrained to those particular people, whose manners and way of life correspond most with the idea represented by the term of Abians. A passage of Scymnus of Chios, seems to set the subject in a clear light.

The

<sup>o</sup> "Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt Domus."

Horat. Carm. Lib. 3.--24.--10.

Silius Italicus hath condensed the history of their life into the narrow compass of two lines.

"Nulla domus; plufris habitant: migrare per arva,  
Mos, atque errantes circumvectare Penates."

<sup>p</sup> "Γλακτοφαγών, Αβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ανδρωπων." Hom. Iliad. 13. V. 6.

<sup>q</sup> Apoll. Lexic. Tom. 1--13. And the ingenious conjecture of Monsieur de Villoison on the name of this people. 14.

<sup>r</sup> "Τες ανεσιες η̃ της αμαζοικες." Strabo. Lib. 7.--455.—Eustathius. ad V. 6. Homer. Iliad. 13.—Nicol. Damasc. de Mor. Gent. ad Calcem. Repul. Lac. Crag. 548. Ουβιαιοι, Δικαιοτατες.—Hefych. in Voc. Αβίων.—Apoll. Lexic. 13, 14.—Etymol. Mag. Ed. Sylb. 232, 233.—Steph. Byzant. 6, 7.



The geographical poet, after having mentioned the Scythians who had fixed dwelling-places, and cultivated the country that they occupied, following Ephorus his guide, adds, “many other people, who have no particular names, are shepherds, and from their religious principles treat their flocks with tendernefs. They drink mares’ milk like the Scythians, and have only one common property. Anacharfis is said to have been born amongst these people, celebrated for their moral character, and many of these Scythians are supposed to have passed into Asia, and there formed settlements, where they took the name of Saces.”<sup>s</sup> The same passage is likewise extracted from the fourth book of Ephorus, in the fragment of the Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus, published by Voffius.<sup>t</sup> Strabo after having cited it from Ephorus, joins to it the verses of the poet Chærilus, in which he says, that “the Saces were shepherds

<sup>s</sup> “Τον Παντικαπη διαδαντι Λιμανίων εθνῶ,  
 Ἐτεξα τε πλεονα ε διωνομασμενα,  
 Νομαδικα δε επι καλημενα ευσεβη πανυ  
 Ὡς υδεν εμψυχων αδικησαι ποτ’αν,  
 Οικοφορα δ’ ὡς εζηκει η̄ σιτεμενα,  
 Γαλακτι, ταις Σκυδικαις τε ἵππομολγμαις  
 Ζωσι δε την τε κτησιν αναδεδεχοτες  
 Κοινην ἀπαντων την τε ὀλην εσιαν\*  
 Και τον σοφον Αναχαρασιν εκ των Νομαδικων  
 Φησι γενεσθαι των σφοδρ’ ευσεβεστων.  
 ————— η̄ κατοικησαι τινας  
 Εἰς Ασιαν ελθοντας, ὡς δη η̄ Σακας  
 Καθεσιν\*

Scymni Chii Fragm. 111-123. Geog. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Tom. 2. 49-50.

<sup>t</sup> Added to Scylax. 138. Ed. Gronovii. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1700.

herds of Scythian origin, celebrated for their integrity, who inhabited Asia, a fertile country,"<sup>w</sup> and he confirms the opinion of Ephorus.

We learn from Herodotus<sup>\*</sup> and Pliny,<sup>y</sup> that the Persians included all the Scythians under the Saces, because this people agreeable to the ideas of the Roman Naturalist, was the nearest to their empire. But perhaps they might have other reasons, and the term had probably a different origin.

A knowledge of the old Runic tongue, the Sclavonian dialects, and of the language of Thibet or Tangut, as well as of the Persian and Turkish idioms, would afford us undoubtedly great assistance in the explication of many Scythian names, but the surest and most useful would be the Mungal, which was so widely spread  
in

<sup>w</sup> "Μηλονομοι τε Σακαι, γενεα Σκυθαι αυτας εναιον  
Ασιδα πυροφορον νομαδων γε μεν ησαν αποικοι  
Ανδρωπων νομιμων."

Strabo. Lib. 7.--464.

<sup>\*</sup> "Οι γαρ Περσαι παντας της Σκυθης καλεουσι Σακας." Herod. Lib. 7.--540.

<sup>y</sup> "Ultra sunt Scytharum populi Persæ, illos Sacas in universum appellavere a proximâ gente, antiqui Aramæos." (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.) The Greeks, the Baron de St. Croix remarks from Aristophanes, applied the term of "Saces" to those, who had no fixed place of residence, and were not Citizens of any town.

"Ημεις γαρ, ω'νδρες, οι παροντες εν λογω,  
Νοσον νοσημεν την εναντιαν Σακα"  
"Ο μεν γαρ ων εκ ασου, εισβιζεται."

Aristoph. Aves. 30—33.

in Asia.<sup>2</sup> The word Saki imports in it "I massacre," and it is very probable, that the Scythians in their bloody engagements with the Persians, cried out, when their enemies gave way, Sakib, Sakib,<sup>3</sup> kill or massacre, and that the nation, whose language was not understood, took its name from the impression, which fear had profoundly graven on the heart, and the term, which it used itself in its combats. From Sakib or Saki the derivation of the Saces is naturally easy,<sup>4</sup> who were also called Amourgians,<sup>5</sup> according to Herodotus, from one of their kings, of whom Ctesias<sup>6</sup> speaks, and not from Margus a river of Margia, as Monsieur Freret<sup>7</sup> conjectures. The Saces in reality never inhabited this country, and differed but little from the Aspasiacians or rather Aspaciadians, as will be hereafter mentioned: but it may be first necessary to fix the position of the Abians.—Strabo speaks of the Saces as the most Eastern tribe of the Scythians beyond the Caspian sea, and he places them, like Marcian of Heraclea, on the same line with the Sogdians, near a ford of the Iaxartes, which facilitated their communication

<sup>2</sup> Strahlenberg. Description of the North and Eastern part of Europe and Asia.

<sup>3</sup> Sakib in the Imperative, see the Mungal grammar in Thevenot.

<sup>4</sup> Steph. Byzant. 580. Reland, according to the Baron de St. Croix, hath traced the etymology of the word up to the Arabians. (Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Persarum in voce Sacæ.) The German extraction however of Wachter, in his Glossary, (1336) "Saka, nocere, vulnerare, damnum inferre," the Baron de St. Croix apprehends to be more legitimate.

<sup>5</sup> "Τῶτες δὲ τοῦτας Σκυθὰς Ἀμουργίους, Σάκας ἐκαλεῖται." Herod. Lib. 7.--540.

<sup>6</sup> Phot. Bibl. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Observations sur la Cyropédie. Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tom. 7.--436.

communication with the Massagetes.<sup>f</sup> Agathemerus assures us, that on coming from the West we find Sogdia and afterwards the Saces.<sup>g</sup> Ptolemy enters into more satisfactory details, and informs his readers that the Saces had to the West, Sogdiana, and Scythia to the North, which was extended in a parallel line to the place where the Iaxartes changed its course,<sup>h</sup> and after having run from East to West, turned towards the North-West. The country of the Saces, who were supported by their flocks, and never inhabited any towns, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, joined Sogdia,<sup>i</sup> and a district immediately contiguous to this province on the East, preserves even at this day the name of Sakita,<sup>k</sup> which seems to have a near affinity with the ancient name of the Saces, and to point out the identity of the true position of these people.

Diodorus Siculus pretends, that all Scythia beyond the Edmodus or Emodus to the North of India, was occupied by the Saces;<sup>l</sup> but we may easily discover that he was deceived, by the extent of territory, which the Persians allowed to this nation. Eratosthenes is  
not

<sup>f</sup> "Της δε προσειώης τήτων πολλοὶ Μασσαγῆται, καὶ Σακκας ὀνομαζέσσι." Strabo. Lib. 11.--778.

<sup>g</sup> "Εἴτα Σογδιανὰ, εἴτα Σακκία." Agathemerus. Lib. 2. C. 6. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1700.

<sup>h</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 13.

<sup>i</sup> "His contigui sunt Sacæ, natio fera, squalentia incolens loca solo pecori fructuosa, ideo nec civitatibus culta." Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--411. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1693.

<sup>k</sup> Geographe Ancienne de Monsieur d'Anville. Tom. 2.--319.

<sup>l</sup> "Τῇδε πρὸς τὰς Ἀρκτὺς τὸ Ἡμῶδον ὁρᾷ διεισθῆναι τῆς Σκυθίας, ἣν κατοικῶσι τῶν Σκυθῶν οἱ προσαναγορευόμενοι Σακκαί." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--148.

not less reprehensible, who separates the Scythians and the Sogdians by the Iaxartes,<sup>m</sup> and we may judge of the accuracy of this geographer, respecting the North of Asia, from the position, which he gives to the Aracosiens and Massagetes, on the banks of the Oxus near Bactria. Eratosthenes seems to consider these two nations as adjoining ones, whilst one was to the North of the Iaxartes, and the other to the West of the Paropamisus, and consequently about three thousand Olympic stadia from the Oxus.

As the Saces were a colony of Abians to the East of Sogdia, the historians of Alexander have incurred no just cause of censure from their transportation of this wandering tribe out of Europe into Asia, where some of them actually settled. Yet Arrian is not entirely unexceptionable, when he mentions towns belonging to these hordes,<sup>n</sup> who had no fixed and determinate place of residence, passing a vagrant life with their cars and waggons, and stopping only where they found a sufficiency of pasturage for their flocks and cattle. The foundation indeed of towns cannot be reconciled with the Scythian mode of life in general, and more particularly clashes with that of the Abian Saces. The series of events, which Arrian hath described, appear to indicate that the Scythians, who defended the passage of the Iaxartes were Abians,<sup>o</sup> though we have more reason to believe that he meant the Massa-

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getes,

<sup>m</sup> "Διεργεν δὲ Σακάς μὲν, καὶ Σογδιανὺς τὸν Ἰαξαρτὴν." Strabo. Lib. 11. 782.

<sup>n</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 1. 258.

<sup>o</sup> ————— Lib. 4. C. 4. 264—267.



getes, whose situation, to the North of the river, made it more immediately necessary for them to oppose the progress of the Macedonian Monarch. They attended Spitamenes in his expedition against Bactria,<sup>p</sup> after his irruption into Sogdia, in which he had been reduced to the necessity of raising the siege of Marcanda, and of retreating to take refuge amongst the wandering Scythians. Pharnuces, who pursued him, imprudently got into the midst of these people before he was aware of them,<sup>q</sup> and this circumstance evidently proves, that they were the tribes of Abian Scythians. A body of troops might enter their country without having the difficulty of passing any river, and the Massagetes had the Iaxartes for a barrier. Pharnuces had been led on to a distance by the facility of his march, and when he was attacked by the Abian Saces, who had assisted Spitamenes, he was obliged to fly with all his cavalry.<sup>r</sup> Arrian therefore ought not to have distinguished the Saces from the Asiatic Saces,<sup>s</sup> and his opinion has been improperly adopted by many other writers. Ptolemy was undoubtedly led astray by their authority, who reckons the Abians the most Northern of the tribes of Scythians beyond mount Imaus.<sup>t</sup>

The

<sup>p</sup> “Σπιταμένης τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Σογδιανῶν τινες φυγάδων· ἐξ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Μασσαγέτων καλεμμένων τὴν χώραν ἐμπεφυγοντες, ξυναγαγοντες τῶν Μασσαγέτων ἵππας ἑξακοσίας, ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ φρεσιον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανήν.” Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 16.--299.

<sup>q</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 5.--268, 269.

<sup>r</sup> ————— Lib. 4. C. 5.--269.

<sup>s</sup> ————— Lib. 4. C. 1.--257, 258.

<sup>t</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 15.

The Oxus separated Bactria from Sogdia, but Polybius tells us, that this river having risen in Caucasus, by which the Paropamisus is to be understood, rolls through Bactria, where it is augmented by numerous streams, that discharge themselves into it.<sup>w</sup> It is certain however, that the Oxus received almost as many rivers, which opened into it from Sogdia as from Bactria. The expressions of this able historian, might induce us to suppose that he placed the Oxus in the centre of Bactria, since it is in Bactria, that he supposed it to be principally swoln by the various rivers that run into it. Dionysius the geographer hath stated a supposition nearly as erroneous, and makes the Oxus to cross Sogdia,<sup>x</sup> whilst it serves from its source to separate the two provinces of Bactria and Sogdia.<sup>y</sup> Polybius farther informs us, that the Aspasian Scythians, residing between the Tanais, which throws itself into the Palus Mæotis, and the Oxus, whose stream loses itself in the Caspian sea, crossed the latter river to make incursions into Hyrcania.<sup>z</sup> But the Greek historian must have been deceived by the improper name given to the Iaxartes, and has in consequence fallen into the

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fame

<sup>w</sup> “Ὁ γὰρ Ὄξους ἔχει μὲν ἐκ τῆς Καυκάσου τὰς πηγὰς· ἐπὶ πολὺ δ’ αὐξήθεις ἐν τῇ Βακτριᾷ, συρροῦντων εἰς αὐτὴν ὕδατων, φερεται διὰ πεδιδιὰς χωρὰς, πολλὰ καὶ θολερὰ ρεύματα.” Polybius. Lib. 10. C. 48. Tom. 3.--303, 304. 8<sup>vo</sup> Lips. 1790.

<sup>x</sup> “Τοῖς δ’ ἐπὶ πρὸς βορρην Χορασμοῖσι· οἷς ἐπὶ γαίᾳ Σαγδιᾷ, ἥς διὰ μέσσον ἐλισσεται ἱερὸν Ὄξους· ὅς γε λιπὼν Ἡμῶδον ὄρεσιν, μετὰ Κασπίδα βαλλεῖ.”

Dionys. Perieg. 746—748.

<sup>y</sup> “Ὁς ὀρεῖται τὴν τε τῶν Βακτριῶν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Σογδιῶν.” Strabo. Lib. 11.--786.

<sup>z</sup> “Περαιεμένοι τοῦ Ὄξους, εἰς τὴν Ἱρκανίαν ἐρχονται.” Polyb. Lib. 10. C. 48.--303.

same errors with the historians of Alexander's life and actions. The remainder of his narrative proves decisively, that this Scythian nation, which he meant by the Aspasiacians were the Saces : the term Aspasiacians might be an additional appellation to some particular tribe of them.<sup>a</sup> The Aspasiacian Scythians, we are told, had the Oxus only to pass in their irruptions into Hyrcania, and if their country was situated between the Oxus and the real Tanais, it must have included an immense tract of country, and a multitude of rivers must have opposed their numerous barriers to them, instead of which Polybius only takes notice of the Oxus. This river rolled over rocks, and formed according to some authors a kind of natural bridge of a stadium in length, over which the Scythians passed without difficulty;<sup>b</sup> but others supposed, that they took advantage of the place, where the Oxus disappears and runs under ground for some distance. The first of these opinions may not have been totally fictitious, as the Dgeihon or Amu, the Oxus of the Ancients, separates into many branches in the cantons of Balk and Termed, and afterwards collecting again its divided streams, passes between two mountains, by a narrow chasm called Dehani-Chir

<sup>a</sup> Ptolemy, in the Baron de St. Croix's opinion, hath distinguished, without any authority, the Aspasians or Aspasiacians from the Saces, and given the Aspasians a position too far North.

<sup>b</sup> “Δια δε τῆς τῆ τοπῆ φασὶ τῆς Ἀσπασιακῆς παρ αὐτὴν τὴν πετρὰν ὑπο τὴν καταφορὰν τὸ ποταμὸν περὶ μετὰ τῶν ἵππων εἰς τὴν Ἰσκανίην· ὁ δ' ἴτερος λόγος ἐπεικεσερὰν ἔχει τὸ προσδεῖν τὴν ἀποφασιν· τὴ γὰρ ὑποκειμένη τοπὴ μεγάλης ἔχειτο πλαταμῶνας, εἰς ἧς καταρρατίζει, τῆτος φασὶ τὴ βία τὴ ρευματὸς ἐκκοιλαινόντα καὶ διαρρηγνύντα κατὰ ἑαυτὸν, ὑπο γῆν φερεσθαι τοπον ἔωλον, εἰτ' ἀναφαίνεσθαι πάλιν· τῆς δὲ βαρεβερῆς διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν κατὰ τὸν διαλείποντα τοπον ποιεσθαι, τὴν διόδον ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων εἰς τὴν Ἰσκανίαν.” Polyb. Lib. 10. C. 48. Tom. 3.--304.

Chir or the Lion's mouth,<sup>c</sup> with scarcely an opening of fifty yards, which may be easily supposed to have been the natural bridge of the Oxus.—Polybius seems to have adopted the second idea, and it appears more probable. The Dgeihon beyond Delhani-Chir runs into a plain of sand of two leagues in length, where it loses itself. This plain might formerly have been very passable, but at present it is too hazardous to be attempted: at the end of it the Dgeihon again appears, and resumes its course towards Kharism. The circumstance of rivers burying themselves, in this part of the world, within the bosom of the earth is not extraordinary, and Strabo is not justified in disputing the relation of Aristobulus,<sup>d</sup> who assures us, that the Polymetus, the Sogd of the Orientals, after having watered the valley of Marcanda lost itself in the sand, without discharging itself into the Caspian sea, as Ptolemy<sup>e</sup> hath related, which was physically impossible. The course of the Polymetus would in that case have been intercepted by the Oxus, which stretched from the South to the North-West.—The passage of the Aspasiacians near Termed, according to the real position of these places, proves that the Scythians made their incursions  
into

<sup>c</sup> Voyage d'Otter. Tom. 1.--236. The Turkish geographer, according to the Baron de St. Croix, enters into some interesting details relative to the course of the Oxus, 882, 883, 884 and 885. And Eldrisi, in a Maronite interpretation, describes the pass in the following manner.

“———Ubi abscondit se sub magno quodam monte, super quem transeundi est quasi pontem.”

Geog. Nub. Clim. 3. P. 8.--138.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo. Lib. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 14.



into that part of Hyrcania, between the Ochus and the Oxus. Monsieur d'Anville reckons the Ochus to be the Northern limit of this province, and this able geographer, it is to be supposed, had good reasons for abandoning the sentiments of Strabo<sup>f</sup> as well as Ptolemy,<sup>g</sup> who throw back the frontiers of Hyrcania beyond the Ochus. This river, which answers to the modern Thus, that runs near Nefa, which took its name from Næfia a province of the ancient Hyrcania,<sup>h</sup> continues its course, like the Thus, into the Caspian sea.—Strabo relates the opinion of the writers, who imagined the Ochus and Oxus to form a junction,<sup>i</sup> and Q. Curtius hath been led into an error by it: Alexander, according to this historian, passed both these rivers to arrive at the city of Marginia,<sup>k</sup> where he pitched upon situations for six other towns. If the Macedonian Monarch, in his route from Bactria to Marginia, had met with the Ochus, it must have opened into the Oxus, or its course must have been lengthened from East to West, which suppositions are equally false. The river to which Q. Curtius hath given the name of Ochus was the Margus, which runs in a parallel line with the Arius, and is still called by the Persians, Marg-  
Ab.

<sup>f</sup> "Διαίρεται δὲ καὶ ποταμοῖς ἡ Ἑρκανία τῶν τε Ὀχῶ καὶ τῶ Ὀξῶ." Strabo. Lib. 11.--776.

<sup>g</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 9.

<sup>h</sup> Strabo. Lib. 11.--776.

<sup>i</sup> ——— Lib. 11.--776.

<sup>k</sup> "Superatis deinde amnibus Ocho et Oxo, ad urbem Marginiam pervenit." Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 10. Tom. 2.--556.



Ab.<sup>1</sup> Pliny<sup>m</sup> informs us, that Antiochus the son of Seleucus rebuilt on the banks of the Margus one of the towns, which Alexander founded, and which had been destroyed by the Barbarians, but this king of Syria called it Antiochia, which proves the mistake of Q. Curtius. It may be perhaps conjectured, that Q. Curtius meant another river, which had also the name of Ochus, and agreeable to Ptolemy united itself to the Dargomanis,<sup>n</sup> and then joined the Oxus, but the Greek geographer is here less exact than even the Latin historian.

Bessus received some succours from the Dahes, who resided, according to Arrian,<sup>o</sup> beyond the Tanais or Iaxartes, but he places them much too far Northward. The Xanthians, Pissurians, Aparnians or Parnians, served to distinguish three tribes of this nation,<sup>p</sup> and the Aparnians were settled next Hyrcania and the borders of the Caspian sea. The Xanthians and Pissurians extended themselves along the shore and sides of the sea, in the Latitude of the ancient Aria. It is evident that Strabo, with whom Ptolemy<sup>q</sup> agrees, is accurate

<sup>1</sup> Geog. Ancienne par Monsieur d'Anville. Tom. 2.--297.

<sup>m</sup> "Alexander Alexandriam condiderat. Quâ dirutâ a Barbaris, Antiochus Seleuci filius, eodem loco restituit Syriam. Nam interfluente Margo, qui corrivatur in Zotale, is maluerat illam Antiochiam appellari." Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--674, 675.

<sup>n</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 11.

<sup>o</sup> "Δαας τὴς ἐπὶ τῇδε τοῦ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ οἰκιστὰς," Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 28.--249.

<sup>p</sup> Strabo, Lib. 11.--779.

<sup>q</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6.

rate in his position of these people on this side of the Oxus, and that Arrian hath incorrectly transported them to the banks of the Iaxartes. Monsieur d'Anville hath placed them to the South of the Ochus, which seems to have been their true residence, pointed out by Strabo. This Greek geographer relates, that Arfaces governed the Dahes, called Parnians,<sup>r</sup> who had not absolutely any fixed settlement, but occasionally varied their residence, without quitting the environs of the Ochus. These Scythians are believed to have been a colony of the Dahes, that once occupied a tract of country above the Palus Mæotis,<sup>s</sup> and took the names of Aparnians, Xanthians, and Pissurians, in consequence of a migration like that of the Abians, who transplanting themselves into Asia were called the Saces, Amurgians and Aspasiacians. Herodotus considers the Mardes as a Persian people,<sup>t</sup> and he classes also another nation of the Mardes in the nineteenth Satrapy, with the Mossynæcians and Tibarenes.<sup>w</sup> It is probable, that the name of Mard was given as a general term to the inhabitants of the mountains, who owed their liberty to the inaccessible ramparts of their country, Mard signifying in the Persian tongue a brave man, and Marad in the Hebrew, a revolt. The Mardes, according to Herodotus, were a wandering people,

<sup>r</sup> "Ἀσπασίης ἀντὶ Σκυθίας τῶν Δαῶν τινὰς ἔχων τὰς Πάρους καλεμένους Νομίδας, παροικούντας τὸν Ὀχον."

Strabo. Lib. 11.--783.

<sup>s</sup> "Φασι δὲ τὰς Πάρους Δαῶς μεταναστὰς εἶναι ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαιωτιδίου Λαῶν." Strabo. Lib. 11.--784.

<sup>t</sup> Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

<sup>w</sup> ——— Lib. 3.--246.

people, and principally shepherds, <sup>x</sup> an employment and mode of life in some measure connected with their situation, which must have been the Uxian mountains. We learn in fact from Q. Curtius, that this nation was near the Uxians, <sup>y</sup> and Mard might perhaps have been the name, which the Persians gave to a part of the inhabitants of the Uxian mountains, who had never been subdued: those who cultivated the plains, and were subject to the Persian Satrap, were not distinguished by this particular appellation, and were simply called Uxians. <sup>z</sup>—Q. Curtius <sup>a</sup> and many other writers have doubled the Mardes, and have introduced two different wars of Alexander with these people. Arrian adopts these opinions in his narrative concerning India, <sup>b</sup> though he only takes notice of a single nation of this name, <sup>c</sup> in his history of the Macedonian Monarch, and relates an expedition against them after the death of Darius, in which Diodorus Siculus <sup>d</sup> and Justin <sup>e</sup> agree with him.

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<sup>x</sup> “Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομαῖες, Δαοί.” Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

<sup>y</sup> “Quinte Curce nous dit effectivement que cette nation étoit voisine des Uxiens.” In the passage referred to by the Baron de St. Croix, the Mardes are only mentioned in the following manner. “Ventum est in Mardorum gentem bellicosissimam, et multum a ceteris Persis cultu vitæ abhorrentem.” Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--353, 354.

<sup>z</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 17.--219.

<sup>a</sup> Q. Curtius, Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--353, 354. The passage just cited, “Mardorum erat gens confinis Hyrcaniæ, cultu vitæ aspera, et latrociniis adfuerat.” Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--417.

<sup>b</sup> “Συριοῖς δὲ περσσοικοὶ ὅτι εἰσιν οἱ Οὐξιοί, λελεγκται μοι\* καταπερ Μαρδοὶ μὲν Περσσησι προσεχέες οἰκεῖσι.” Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 40.--630.

<sup>c</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 24.--238, 239.

<sup>d</sup> Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--219.

<sup>e</sup> Justin. Lib. 12. C. 3.--308.

The Mardes, strictly speaking, were a Scythian people, who resided in the mountains of Deilam, to the South of the Caspian sea, and they were more properly called the great Mardes or Amardians from the Amardus, which watered their country. These Mardes or Amardians, were doubtless the people that Phraates, the first king of the Parthians, obliged to inhabit the city of Rages, which from that time became one of the greatest cities of Media.<sup>f</sup> Pliny ought not therefore to have distinguished the Amardians from the Mardes, "a rough and unconquered nation."<sup>g</sup> But the Latin Naturalist may have been deceived by the name of Mard, which the Persians gave in general to the inhabitants of mountains, and particularly to the inhabitants of those between Susia and Persia. He seems also to have multiplied them, and reckons five nations of them: one near Colchis,<sup>h</sup> of which Herodotus<sup>i</sup> also speaks; a second between Armenia and Media,<sup>k</sup> which appears to be the Gordians or Corduans; a third in Susia,<sup>l</sup> which is the Uxians in question, and the fourth is the Mardes,<sup>m</sup> which Pliny distinguishes very improperly from the Amardians or great Mardes, which he makes the fifth.<sup>n</sup>

The

<sup>f</sup> Iñdori Characeni. Mans. Parth. 6. Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. Græc. Tom. 2.

<sup>g</sup> "Gens Mardorum, fera, sui juris." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--675.

<sup>h</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--658.

<sup>i</sup> Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

<sup>k</sup> Pliny's expression is "Circa Mardos et Armenios." Hist. Nat. Lib. 31. C. 7. Tom. 4.--805.

<sup>l</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 27.--718.

<sup>m</sup> ————— Lib. 6. C. 16.--675.

<sup>n</sup> ————— Lib. 6. C. 19.--678.

X The historians of Alexander seized with a kind of transport on the resemblance between the Agriasprians or Ariasprians, according to Ptolemy,<sup>o</sup> and the Arimaspians, a people of European Scythia, celebrated both from the fables, that Aristeas of Proconnesus<sup>p</sup> circulated of them, and also from the succours given by them to the Argonauts, on which they had the name of Evergetes.<sup>q</sup> These writers termed the Agriasprians, who inhabited the South of the Aria Palus, or the modern lake Zera, Arimaspians; and weakly imagined they had rendered the same services to Cyrus,<sup>r</sup> that the Arimaspians afforded the Argonauts, though the Persian Monarch was perhaps never in their country. Diodorus Siculus, equally mistaken from the similitude of these services and the names of the two nations, does not likewise scruple to apply to the Ariasprians the term of Arimaspians.<sup>s</sup>

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<sup>o</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 19.

<sup>p</sup> Herodot. Lib. 4.--286, 287, 288.

<sup>q</sup> Steph. Byzant.

<sup>r</sup> "Αφικνέται ἐς τῆς παλαιᾶς μὲν Ἀγριασπίας καλούμενης, ὕστερον δὲ Εὐεργέτας ἐπονομασθέντας, ὅτι Κυρὸς τῷ Καμβύσῃ ξυνεπέλαβοντο τῆς ἐς Σκυθίας ἐλασιῶς." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 27.--246.

<sup>s</sup> "Diodorus Siculus hath pretended to state the precise relief, which they afforded Cyrus in his distress. "Ἀνεξέυξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τῆς προτέροι μὲν Ἀριμασπίης, νυν δ' Εὐεργέτας ὀνομαζομένης, διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. Κυρῷ ὁ τὴν Μηδῶν ἀρχὴν μὴίασθας εἰς Περσας, ἐν τινὶ βεστυα περικληθεὶς ἐν ἐξημῶν χρόνῳ καὶ πάσῃ σπᾶναι τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν, ἤλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης κινδυνεύς, διὰ τὴν ἐνδείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀναγκάζομένων τῶν βεστυιωτῶν ἀλλήλους σαρκοφαγεῖν. Τῶν δὲ Ἀριμασπίων τρισημυρίας ἄμαξας σιτὴν γεμύσας παρὰ κομισαντῶν, σῶθεις παρὰ δόξως ἀτελείαις τε καὶ ἀλλοῖς δοραῖς ἐτίμησε τὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὴν πρῶτην παρὰ χύσαν προσηγορίαν ἀφειλομένῃ, προσηγορεύσει Εὐεργέτας." Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--222.



The Etymander washed the country of the Ariasprians,<sup>t</sup> and opened into the Aria Palus. Monsieur d'Anville suspects Ptolemy of concluding this river descended into the Southern ocean;<sup>w</sup> the Greek geographer however takes no notice of the river Etymander, and mentions only a people of this name.<sup>x</sup>

After having taken a view of the course of the rivers, and the situation of the different tribes of Scythians, comprised in the Northern part of Asia that Alexander's army overspread, it may be necessary to attend to the provinces, of which Asia was itself composed.

Though Sogdia makes a considerable figure in the history of Alexander's expeditions, Q. Curtius speaks of its inhabitants as hardly known,<sup>y</sup> and places them according to his own erroneous ideas near the real Tanais and Caucasus. Stephanus Byzantinus appears to place Sogdia, in the situation that Bactria should have occupied, near Paropamisus,<sup>z</sup> yet the error may possibly be owing to the copyist.—Golius<sup>a</sup> hath made a similar excuse for Ptolemy, where

<sup>t</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 6.--273.

<sup>w</sup> Geograph. Anc. Tom. 2.--289.

<sup>x</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 17.

<sup>y</sup> "Sogdianos et Arachosios, nomine tantum notos." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--191.

<sup>z</sup> Steph. Byzant. Σογδιαν.

<sup>a</sup> Golius. Not. in Alfer. 171.

where he transports Marcanda the capital of Sogdia into Baḗtria, but as this city is still falsely placed as to its Latitude,<sup>b</sup> we cannot so readily acquiesce in the idea of any mistake in the text of the Greek geographer, and suppose the transcriber to have been alone responsible for it. Monsieur d'Anville<sup>c</sup> hath acutely remarked, that this inaccuracy arose from a false reckoning in the itinerary measures, and "by the allowance of too much space to them, it inevitably followed, that Ptolemy gave in general a greater extent to the country than it really occupied, and Sogdia in particular was pushed much too far."

Baḗtria, if we are to believe Q. Curtius, formed a third part of Asia.<sup>d</sup> The Latin historian must have confounded Baḗtria in the time of Alexander, with the kingdom of Baḗtria formed afterwards by his successors, 255 years before Christ. Menander, one of the most illustrious of these princes, crossed the Hypanis and reduced many nations under his dominion, which the Macedonian Monarch had not conquered. Demetrius, the son of Euthedemus, also possessed himself not only of Patalene, but of many of the provinces on the coast of India,<sup>e</sup> and of the territories of Sigertes. Q. Curtius  
therefore

<sup>b</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 11. Lib. 8. Tab. 7.

<sup>c</sup> "Auxquelles attribuant trop d'entendue, il devoit s'ensuivre que (Ptolemee) donna en general plus d'espace au pays qu'il n'en occupe, et que la Sogdiane en particulier fût poussée beaucoup trop loin." Eclaircissement. Geograph. sur la Carte de l'Inde. 23.

<sup>d</sup> "Tertiam partem Asiae tenet." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--367.

<sup>e</sup> "Δημητρίῳ ὁ Εὐθυδημὲς εἶπεν τὰ Βακτριῶν βασιλεῖας, ὃ μόνον δὲ τὴν Παταλὴν κατεσχόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς παραλίας τὴν τε Τεσσαγιοῦσιν καλεσμένην, καὶ τὴν Σιγερτίδῳ βασιλείαν. Καθόλου δὲ φησὶν ἐκεῖνῳ τῆς συμπαχοῦς Ἀσίας πρὸς σχημα εἶναι τὴν Βακτριανήν· καὶ ὅτι καὶ μεχρὶ Σιρῶν, καὶ Φαυρῶν ἐξέτεινεν τὴν ἀσκήν." Strabo. Lib. 11.--786.

therefore alludes to the boundaries of Bactria extended by its kings, who had united to it Aria, and part of India.

Perhaps however, the Latin historian may be in some measure excused, by supposing with Monsieur Freret<sup>f</sup> that the Persian word Bakter, from which in all probability Bactriana was derived, equally applied to all the country to the East of Persia. The learned academician is supported by Herbelot in the following terms. "From this word comes the name of the province, which we call Khorasan, and to which the Ancients gave the name of Bactriana from its being situated to the East of Persia."<sup>g</sup> Khorasan implies also like Bakter the East, or literally the place where the sun rises, agreeable to Abulfeda<sup>h</sup> and the Turkish geographer, who is much indebted to the Arabian prince for information. These writers allow a great space to the Khorasan, which comprehends not only the ancient Bactriana, but also Sogdiana, Margiana, Parthia and Aria.<sup>i</sup> In the summary description, that

<sup>f</sup> Observations sur la Cyroped. Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 4.--607.

<sup>g</sup> "De ce mot vient le nom de la province que les Anciens ont appelee Bactriane a cause qu'elle est situee a l'Orient de la Perse, nous l'appellons aujourd'hui le Khorassan." Bib. Orient. 164.

<sup>h</sup> "Porro Khorassam solis locus interpretatur, nam Kor solem, et Asam locum denotat." Abulfeda, ex Vers. cit. Geograph. Turc. 670.

<sup>i</sup> "Khorassam plurimas plagas complectitur. Afferunt Caldæi Khorassam protensam esse a Rai usque ad ortum solis. Alii autem existimant eam a monte Halwam ad locum nomine ortum solis patere.———Limites vero ejus hi sunt, nempe ad Occidentem Khorassam deserto, quod eam inter et mediam et Gorgian interjectum est, ad Austrum pariter deserto, quod eam a Perside et Ku-

that Alfragan sketched of the different climates of the world, this astronomer includes in the Khorasan even Balk and Samarcand, which agree in situation with Bactria and Marcanda, the ancient capitals of Bactriana and Sogdiana in the province of Khorasan.<sup>k</sup> Yet the city of Balk must not be confounded with the country of that name, which is a single and separate canton, governed by a particular Khan of its own, who hath always preserved his independence, even in the midst of powerful neighbours, and hath chosen the city of Balk for his residence.<sup>l</sup>

The Oriental geographers supply us with useful explanations of some parts of ancient geography, and are principally of service respecting the real situation of places, and their modern as well as ancient names. Yet the testimony of the more ancient writers as to the limits of the different countries, can only be weakened by the contrary evidence of some cotemporary author. Admitting even that the Oriental writers have not properly distinguished the canton of Balk from the rest of the Khorasan, even the whole of this extensive province might not be able to give us the true limits of the ancient Bactriana, which, according to Ptolemy,<sup>m</sup> on the West  
had

mas sejungit, ad Orientem autem Segestam et India, ad septentrionem denique terminatur plagis Mawarannahr, seu quæ sunt ultra flumen Oxum, et aliquâ etiam parte Turchistam-Khorassam. Itaque continet multas provincias, quarum una quæ integram regionem adæquat.” Abulfeda. ex Versione cit.

<sup>k</sup> Alfereg. Elem. Astron. C. 9. Clim. 4, 5. Golii Not. 166.

<sup>l</sup> Voyage d’Otter. Tom. 1.--240.

<sup>m</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 10. Lib. 6. C. 11.

had Margiana; and should have included the Oxus, and Sogdiana on the North; a part of it as well as the Saces on the West; and the Paropamisus and a part of Asia to the South. We learn from Q. Curtius<sup>n</sup> that the Tanais, which was the Iaxartes, separates the Bactrians from the Scythians, and by this means he confounds Bactriana with Sogdiana. Even the descriptions of the manners and modes of life of the inhabitants, which Alexander's historians have left us, prove these people to have been very different.

Bactra, called sometimes Zariaspe, is placed by Q. Curtius under the mountains of Paropamisus,<sup>o</sup> though it was in fact at some distance from them. The resemblance of the ancient situation of this town with the actual position of Balk, Balch, or Balck agreeable to some manuscripts, demonstrates almost to a certainty this error of the Latin historian. According to Achmet<sup>p</sup> in his twenty-second climate, cited by Abulfeda, Balk is situated in the middle of the Khorasan, and if any credit is due to Ibn-Haukal, it is built upon a flat surface in a plain, about four leagues from a mountain,

<sup>n</sup> "Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythiis, quos Europæos vocant dividit." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531.

<sup>o</sup> "Ipse Bactra, regionis ejus caput, sita sunt sub monte Paropamisso." Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 4. Tom. 2.--510.

<sup>p</sup> "Ex Acmeto sapiente——Balk in medio Khorassam sitam esse traditur——Ex Ibn-Haukal Balk——ca in solo æquabile sita est, itaque a monte illi proximo quatuor paras distat." (Abulfeda ex Versione cit. Geograph. Turc. 698.) This city is supposed to be eight leagues, the Baron de St. Croix observes, from the Dgeihoun or Oxus, according to Sherefeddin. Hist. de Timur. Lib. 1. C. 2.



mountain, which may have occasioned the mistake of Q. Curtius, and might be taken for a part of the Paropamisus. The situation of Balk on the river Dahas, which bathes its walls, ascertains the identity of this city with the Zariaspe or Bactra of the Ancients, and the learned Golius<sup>a</sup> produces many other corroborating proofs of it, in his observations upon Alfragan.

When the Macedonian army returned out of India by Gedrosia, Alexander directed Craterus to conduct a body of troops into the interior part of Ariana,<sup>r</sup> and to reduce it. But is this country understood to be the same with the Aria to the South of Hyrcania and Margiana, and to the North of the Dranges and a part of Media? Strabo clears away the difficulty, and dissipates the obscurity, which has been spread over this subject in Alexander's marches. Whilst this judicious geographer allows only to Aria itself a length of two thousand stadia, and reckons its breadth at three hundred,<sup>s</sup> he extends the limits of Ariana, from the frontiers of Bactriana and Sogdiana, as far as Media and Persia, and he includes in them Arachosia, Carmania, and the whole country to the Indus.<sup>t</sup> Dionysius the geographer hath allotted to Ariana an extent almost as considerable, and he comprises all the people near Paropamisus,

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as

<sup>a</sup> Golius. Notes on Alfragan. 175, 176, 177.

<sup>r</sup> Strabo. Lib. 15.--1055.

<sup>s</sup> "Μηκρὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀρίας ὅσον δισχιλιοὶ σταδίοι, πλατὺν δὲ τριακοσίοι τε πεδίοι." Strabo, Lib. 11.--785.

<sup>t</sup> Strabo, Lib. 2.--131.

as well as the Arbians, Orites, and the inhabitants on the shores of the Erythrean sea, under the general name of Arianians,<sup>w</sup> a term which was at first used to distinguish them from the Arians, with whom they were afterwards confounded.

It seems probable that the term Aria was derived from the Calmuck or Mungul word Are, which signifies a man, and still subsists in Herah, Herat and Heri, the Aria of the Ancients;<sup>x</sup> or it may be deduced from Eri or Ære, which has the same signification with the Tartars. The Arians were distinguished for their knowledge and their police, as may be inferred from Strabo,<sup>y</sup> who compares them with the Indians, the Romans and the Carthaginians, and would willingly withdraw them from the disgraceful denomination of Barbarians. The Arians, had their name from Are or Ære,  
“men,”

<sup>w</sup> “*Ἡ τοι μὲν δύνοντο ἐπὶ κλισίῃν ἢ ἐλίοιο,  
Ὀρίτας τ', Ἀριβας τε, λινοχλαίνες τ' Ἀραχωῶτας,  
Σατράϊδας θ', ὅσους τε παρὰ πύλῃ Παρσπανιστοῖο  
ἔστη ὁμῶς μάλα πάντας ἐπωνυμίην Ἀρίωνες*”

Dionys. Perieg. V. 1095—1098.

Moses of Chorene, according to the Baron de St. Croix, hath confounded the limits of Ariana, with those of the ancient kingdom of Bactriana, and supposed Aria to comprehend the whole country between the Caspian sea and the Indies, including twenty-six provinces, amongst which were Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, &c. &c. “Aria five Chastichorofania Mediæ ac Persiæ finitima est, atque ad Indiam pertinet, Hyrcanumque mare attingit. Hæ autem provinciæ numerantur, Comsîa, Hyrcania, &c. &c. &c.” Mos. Chor. Geograph. ad Calcem. Hist. Armen. 365. Ed. Whiston.

<sup>x</sup> Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. 448.

<sup>y</sup> “*Καὶ τῶν Βακτρῶν Ἀριῶνες, καθάπερ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Ἀριῶνες· ἐπὶ δὲ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἔτι δ' αὖτε μαζὺς πολιτευομένοις.*” Strabo. Lib. 1.--116.

“men,” to mark their decided superiority over the neighbouring nations, like the people of Paropamisus and the Mardes,<sup>z</sup> whose rude and savage life was but little removed from that of the common tribe of animals.

The ancient Medes had the name of Arians, according to Herodotus,<sup>a</sup> but it seems that they were not the Arians, of whom the Greek historian speaks in his division of the Satrapies.<sup>b</sup> The latter nation, which had a great affinity in language and manners with the Assyrians, was formerly very powerful. Most probably all the countries that formed their empire, were known under the general term of Ariana,<sup>c</sup> perhaps also Aria, and many other countries being conquered by the Persians, might be united in the same Satrapy under the name of Ariana, and from this circumstance Hellanicus may have supposed it to have been a province of Persia.<sup>d</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus, after having related the passage of this ancient historian, appears to be desirous of distinguishing Aria from Ariana, which was only an extension of it, and of mak-

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<sup>z</sup> “Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque ac conjuges et liberos condunt: pecorum, aut ferarum carne vescuntur. Ne feminis quidem pro naturæ habitu molliora ingenia sunt.” Q. Curt., Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--354.

<sup>a</sup> “Εκαλεοντο δε παλαι προς παντων Αριοι.” Herodot. Lib. 7.--539.

<sup>b</sup> “Αριοι,” Herodotus. Lib. 3.--245.

<sup>c</sup> See Cellarii Geograph. Antiq. Tom. 2.--515, 516.—Geograph. Ancienne de Monsieur d’Anville. Tom. 2.--285. &c. &c.—Vossius ad P. Melam, Lib. 1. C. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Apud Steph. Byzant. Αρια.

ing these countries inhabited by different people. Copying Apollodorus, he styles "Ariana a nation bordering on the Caduseans,"<sup>e</sup> and Pomponius Mela adopts this erroneous supposition.<sup>f</sup> Pliny<sup>g</sup> is equally incorrect in placing Aria to the West of Parthia, and the Arianians and Carmania to the South. Julius Solinus<sup>h</sup> hath united the Arians and Arianians, and places them to the East of the Parthians, which may serve to correct the text of Pliny,<sup>i</sup> whose errors have been to all appearance increased by the ignorance of his transcribers.

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## OF THE PAROPAMISUS.

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Considering the Paropamisus as one part of the great chain of mountains, which, rising on the sides of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia,

<sup>e</sup> "Αριανία, ἐντὺ προσεχὲς τοῖς Καδουσίαις· Ἀπολλοδώρου δευτέρῳ." Steph. Byzant. *Αριανία*.

<sup>f</sup> "Usque ad Caspium sinus possident. Indis proxima est Ariane deinde Aria." P. Melam. Lib. 1. C. 2.--19, 20.

<sup>g</sup> "Habet ab ortu Arios, a meridie Carmaniam et Arianos." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 25. Tom. 1.--709.

<sup>h</sup> "Ab ortu Arios Arianosque, Carmaniam a medio die." Julius Solinus. C. 59.

<sup>i</sup> By which, the Baron de St. Croix would read "Habet ab ortu Arios et Arianos, a meridie Carmaniam."

Cilicia,<sup>k</sup> stretch across Asia from West to East, and after receiving the different names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus and Edmodus, terminate at the sea that washes China, we may discover a near resemblance with the Caucasus of Scythia, which is itself only a part of another chain of mountains, running from the Pontus Euxinus to the sea of Tartary. These two great tracts of mountainous country are connected by intermediate chains, in a direction from South to North, and are in fact only links of those, which connect the North and South of Asia.

Diodorus Siculus<sup>1</sup> distinguishes exactly these two chains of mountains, but like the other ancient authors, he has not turned his thoughts towards the communication that unites them, and is to appearance the frame that supports all Asia. Arrian<sup>m</sup> and Q. Curtius<sup>n</sup> have simply advanced, that the Caucasus and Taurus made a part of the ridge of mountains, which cross that immense Continent. The term of Taurus is derived from a Chaldæan word, signifying

<sup>k</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 5.--349.

<sup>1</sup> "Απο τῶν τε κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ταυρὸν συνεχὲς ὄρεα δι' ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας διήκει, μέχρι τῆς Καυκάσου καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὠκεανῶ· τετὸ δὲ παντοδαποῖς ἀνασημασί λωφὼν διελημμένον, ἰδίᾳ καθ' ἑκάστην εἶχει πρὸς ἑκατέρωθεν τῶν ὁρίων· τετὸν δὲ τὸν τῶπον εἰς δύο μέρη διαιρημένης τῆς Ἀσίας, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὰς Ἀρκτὺς αὐτῆς νεενύκει, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--260.

<sup>m</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 5.--349.

<sup>n</sup> "Caucasum montem, cujus dorsum Asiam perpetuo jugo dividit, ——— Taurus secundæ magnitudinis mons committitur Caucaſo, &c." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--500, 501.



signifying a mountain,<sup>o</sup> and Eratosthenes as well as Arrian have applied it also to the second chain of mountains,<sup>p</sup> though they regularly change their appellation in the different countries.—Caucasus is an alteration of Groucasum, which in the ancient Scythian language expressed a place covered with snow,<sup>q</sup> and the Barbarians called the mountains to the North of India, Imaus, which has the same import.—The name of Mustag or mountain of ice, by which the Tartars<sup>r</sup> distinguished the Paropamisus, furnishes a signification nearly similar. The Persians indeed still call a part of the same mountains Koh-Kafer,<sup>s</sup> “impious” “treacherous mountain,” more literally Koh-Kaf, “frothy mountain,” in allusion to the snow, which generally covers it; or according to Bayer, Khoo-Kafer, “the loss of men,” from its rigorous climate; but it is sometimes only called Kaf, which is employed by the Arabs to describe many mountains, but in particular those of Paropamisus.

<sup>o</sup> Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens. 207. Which contains much valuable information.

<sup>p</sup> Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 3.--552.

<sup>q</sup> “Et Caucasum montem, Groucasum, hoc est nive candidum.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.

<sup>r</sup> “Terme qui Plin rend par celui de nivofum.” I have varied the expression, for Pliny has not applied the epithet “nivofum” to the Imaus, though he frequently mentions these mountains.

<sup>s</sup> And also Imuffahr, for Mus or Maus signifies with them Ice, to which they prefix, in the pronunciation, the vowel I, but Tag denotes mountains: thus the whole word signifies Icy or Snowy Mountains, whence the corrupt word Imaus takes its origin. Strahlenberg’s Geograph. Descript. of the North and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia, 416.

<sup>t</sup> Bayer de Regn. Baft. 8.

ropamisus.<sup>w</sup>—It may be reasonably supposed, that the companions of Alexander's arms were struck with the analogy of sounds, and catching with pleasure at the resemblance of the etymology of the name, which distinguished the real Caucasus and that of the Paropamisus, made no scruple of calling both these mountains equally Caucasus. Their own vanity and the flattery of their Sovereign might also have some influence with them, in the application.—Some such apology might have excused the Macedonians, if they had satisfied themselves with only the adoption of the name, but they have confounded these two mountains, and have attributed to one, the characteristic circumstance, which alone ought to have distinguished the other. Like another Philoctetes, they have imagined they discovered in the Paropamisus the cave in which Prometheus was fastened, and from which he was at last delivered by Hercules. Arrian, with his usual good sense, states these reveries as fabulous,<sup>\*</sup> though Diodorus Siculus adopts them with credulous simplicity, and relates that in the middle of Caucasus, called Paropamisus by some, the natives still shew a rock of ten stadia in circumference and of four in height, where the eagle's nest and  
the

<sup>w</sup> Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. "Thus likewise the denomination of Caucasus, called by others Caf, Caph or Caco: Caho and Cobo signifies, in the Persian, no more than mountains in general." Strahlenberg's Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia. 416. See also Reland. Dissert. 8. De Vet. Ling. Pers. 155.

<sup>\*</sup> "Και γαρ η̃ σπηλαιον λεγει ιδοντας εν Παραπαμισαδαις της Μακεδονας, η̃ τινα μυθον επιχαριον ακουσαντας, η̃ αυτες ξυνθεντας, φημισαι οτι τετο αρα ην τε Προμηθεως το αντρον, ινα εδεδετο η̃ ο αετ̃ ο̃τι εκεισε εφοιτα, δαισομεν̃ των σπλαγγχων τε Προμηθεως." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 3.—343, 344.

the marks of the fetters of the daring adventurer were yet an object of curiosity.<sup>y</sup> These fables, which can only refer to the real Caucasus, have been copied by Q. Curtius,<sup>z</sup> who draws from them very strange consequences. The Latin historian after having spoken of the fatigues, that the Macedonian Monarch's army experienced in its passage across the Paropamisus, which, according to his ideas, was to the West joining Bactria, with the Indian ocean to the South,<sup>a</sup> adds, that after the Prince's troops had recovered their march,<sup>b</sup> "he moved towards mount Caucasus, which with its long ridge of hills stretches itself through Asia, having on one side of it the Cilician sea, and on the other the Caspian sea, the river Araxes, and deserts of Scythia. Mount Taurus, which holds the second rank for bigness, joins to mount Caucasus: it takes its rise from Cappadocia, and running across Cilicia joins itself to the mountains of Armenia, so that all these mountains being united, form one continued

<sup>y</sup> "Κατὰ δὲ μέτρον τὸν Καυκάσον ἐστὶ πέτρα δέκα σταδίων ἐχούσα τὴν περιμέτρον, τετραγώνου δὲ σταδίων τὸ ὑπὸ σθῆ, ἐν ἧ καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν σπηλαῖον εἰδέναι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυσιων, καὶ ἡ τε μεμβολογηθέντι αὐτῇ κοιτῇ, καὶ τῶ τῶν δεσμῶν σημεῖα." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--224.

<sup>z</sup> Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3.--493—501.

<sup>a</sup> "Bactrianis ad Occidentem conjuncti sunt: Meridiana regio ad mare Indicum vergit." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--493, 494.

<sup>b</sup> "Inde agmen proceffit ad Caucasum montem, cujus dorsum Asiam perpetuo jugit dividit: hinc simul mare, quod Ciliciam subit; illinc Caspium fretum, et amnem Araxem, aliaque regionis Scythiæ deserta spectat. Taurus secundæ magnitudinis mons committitur Caucaso, a Cappadociâ se adtollens Ciliciam præterit, Armeniæque montibus jungitur. Sic inter se tot juga velut ferie cohærentia perpetuum habent dorsum, ex quo Asiæ omnia fere flumina, alia in rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanum et Ponticum decidunt. XVII. dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--500, 501.

tinued ridge, out of which almost all the rivers of Asia flow, some emptying themselves into the Red sea, others discharging themselves into the Caspian sea, while others again fall into the Hyrcanian and Pontick sea. The army passed over mount Caucasus in seventeen days.”<sup>c</sup> It would be difficult to find either an ancient or modern historian, who has to answer for so many errors in such a short compass.—Q. Curtius undoubtedly intended to speak of the real Caucasus, since he joins it to the Taurus, and places the Caspian sea on the left: this however is the least of his mistakes. After a description of Alexander’s march in the country of Paropamisus, he supposes this Prince to reach Caucasus, which must in consequence be situated between Paropamisus and the Indian ocean. But is this situation to be reconciled with the account, which he gives afterwards of this mountain? The Caucasus, he tells us, hath on one side the Caspian sea, the Araxes and Scythia, and on the other, the sea which bathes the coast of Cilicia, placed under the same parallel with the Caspian sea, and by these means the whole of Asia Minor with the Pontus Euxinus is thrown too far Northward. Q. Curtius hath given also a Latitude too far Southward to the Caspian sea, and brings it within seven degrees of the Equator. If we admit the ideas, which the Ancients entertained of the Longitude of the Caspian sea, to have been just and accurate, it then becomes parallel to that of Cilicia and Asia Minor.—These influences are fairly deducible from the text of Q. Curtius, who is accustomed very frequently to contradict himself, and may even

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<sup>c</sup> Digby’s Q. Curtius, Book. 7. Chap. 3. Vol. 2.—18.

be believed to have imagined the Caucasus to run from North to South.—Arachosia, likewise, is placed to the West of Caucasus, and near the Pontus Euxinus, and consequently we must not be surpris'd to meet with its inhabitants near the Euxine sea.<sup>d</sup>—To complete the confusion and obscurity, the Latin historian appears to distinguish the Hyrcanian sea from the Caspian sea.

Q. Curtius mentions the climate of Paropamisus in the following terms.<sup>e</sup> “The snows are here so deep, and so congealed with the frost, that no footsteps or traces of beast or bird appear in all the country. The light is so obscure, that it may be compared to the dimness of the night, so that those things that are nearest at hand are hardly discernable.”<sup>f</sup>—This is most certainly an overcharged description, which may be considered as a commentary on Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, when he speaks of this country, that it was situated under the Pole.<sup>g</sup> Q. Curtius therefore transports into it

<sup>d</sup> “Arachosios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet.” Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--492.

<sup>e</sup> “Adeo altæ nives premunt terram, gelu et perpetuo pene rigore constrictæ, ut ne avium quidem, feræve ullius vestigium exstet. Obscura cæli verius umbra, quam lux, nocti similis premit terram: vix ut quæ prope sunt conspici possint.” Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--498.

<sup>f</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius. Book 7. Chap. 3. Vol. 2.--17.

<sup>g</sup> “Ἡ δὲ τῶν χωρῶν κείται μὲν ὑπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀρκτέας, χιονοβόλαιται δὲ πᾶσα, ——— ἀπᾶσα δ' ἡ τῆς χωρῆς φύσις ἐτε χλωρὰν ἐδ' ἡμέρον εἶχει προσοψίν, ἀλλὰ λευκὴν καὶ ἀνταυγὴ τὴν χιονὰ καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ πηγνυμένον κρυφαλλὸν διόπερ, ἐτ' ὅσιν ἐπὶ προσκαθίζοντες, ἐτε θῆριε διόδουντες, ἀξενὰ καὶ ἀνεπίβᾶτα πάντα τὰ μερὴ τῆς χωρῆς ὑπὲρχειν.” (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 7. Tom. 2.--223.) Churchill's Muse, in an irritated



it the inhabitants of Paropamisus, or rather appears to be wholly ignorant, that the nearer we approach to the Equator, the nearer we find day and night to be equal to each other. But it is an excess of absurdity to imagine that a country, only ten degrees from the Tropic of Cancer, should in the winter be plunged into one continued night.

Monfieur Bonami takes notice of the expressions of Diodorus Siculus, and Q. Curtius, and then observes, “that notwithstanding this frightful country is situated towards the thirty-fifth degree of Northern Latitude, in a climate where the heat is more sensible than cold, they have not only transported thither mount Caucasus and the Tanais, but also frosts and ice.”<sup>h</sup> To this objection,

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irritated moment, seems to have painted, in similar and exaggerated colours, a part of GREAT BRITAIN, which, from Party principles, had been the invidious object of his resentment.

“Far as the eye could reach, no tree was seen,  
Earth, clad in ruffet, scorn'd the lively green.  
The plague of locusts they secure defy,  
For in three hours a grasshopper must die.  
No living thing, whate'er its food, feasts there,  
But the Chamelion, who can feast on air,  
No birds, except as Birds of Passage, flew,  
No bee was known to hum, no dove to coo,  
No streams as amber smooth, as amber clear  
Were seen to glide, or heard to warble here.”

Prophecy of Famine. Churchill's Poems. Vol. 1.--10. 8<sup>vo</sup> 1766.

<sup>h</sup> “Cependant ce pays si affreux est situeé vers le 35 degré de Latitude septentrionale, c'est à dire, dans un climat où la chaleur se fait plus sentir que le froid. ——— en y transportant le mont Caucaze et le Tanais, ils y ont transporté les glaces et les frimats,” Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions. Tom. 25.--22.

however, it may be answered that the hoar of a winter's frost is sometimes to be met with upon mountains in the Southern regions, the Pike of Teneriffe, which is seven degrees South of Paropamisus being covered with snow, and inaccessible even in the months of July and August.<sup>1</sup> The intense cold, arising from continual falls of snow, is likewise so very severe on the Cordilleras and Andes, in the Audience of Quito, near the Equator, that these mountains are not only uninhabitable, but neither plants nor animals are to be found upon them.<sup>k</sup> The climate of Paropamisus produces also examples of the common phænomenon arising from the rarefaction of the air. Father Desideri, who traversed in 1715 the mountains of Cachemir, which are a part of the ancient Paropamisus, and lie nearly in the same Latitude with the route of Alexander's army, expresses himself as follows. "The summit of the highest mountains is always covered with snow and ice.—I say nothing of the extreme cold, which I had to suffer.—These mountains are a true image of desolation, horror and even death."<sup>1</sup> Bernier's description,

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire general de Voyages*. Tom. 6.--189—220. Ed. 12. The Baron de St. Croix was perfectly correct in his expression, for the difficulties were supposed to include an impossibility of succeeding in the attempt. Lieutenant Rye, with wonderful perseverance, and not without some danger, hath since scaled this tremendous mountain in the month of April. See his Account of the Pike of Teneriffe. 4<sup>to</sup> 1793.

<sup>k</sup> *Voyage de l'Amerique par D. G. Juan et D. Ulloa*. Tom. 1.--351.

<sup>1</sup> "Le sommet des plus hautes montagnes est toujours couvert de neige et de glace.—Je ne parle point du froid extrême qui j'ai eu à souffrir — Ces montagnes sont une vraie image de la tristesse, de l'horreur, de la mort même." (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*. Rec. 15.--185—193.) Much curious information may be extracted from this voluminous collection, but some attention will be requisite to separate the dross, and the "Esprit du corps" cannot be too much guarded against.

scription,<sup>m</sup> who had passed through the same country fifty years before, is substantially the same, and this celebrated traveller adds, that on the mountain of Pir-Penjal, the changes in the atmosphere were very violent and sudden, and that in less than an hour there was a transition from summer to winter.

Without wasting any time on the etymologies of the name of these mountains, which seem to confirm the relation of Alexander's historians, some of the circumstances of Tamerlane's march towards mount Ketuer, between Badafchan and Cachemir, may be entered into with propriety. "Notwithstanding the season (the sun was then in Gemini) there was such a quantity of snow upon this mountain, that most of the horses, that attempted to ascend, could not keep their feet and fell. Some, however, after the frost in the night, which was severe, made some little progress, and when the sun arose, they were stopped, and covered with clothes, as it became impossible to proceed from the glassy ice. With great difficulty and great fatigue, the summit of the mountain was at last gained, and the place reached where the Siapousch resided."<sup>n</sup> The country inhabited by this band of robbers

<sup>m</sup> Voyages de Bernier. Tom. 2. 270. "Nous entrâmes dans les montagnes, pour voir un grand lac où il y a de la glace, dont les vents font et défont des monceaux comme une petite mer glaciale." Voyage de Kachem. Tom. 2.--302.

<sup>n</sup> "Malgré la saison, (le soleil étoit alors dans les Gémeaux) on trouva sur cette montagne une si grande quantité de neige, que les pieds de la plupart des chevaux qu'on voulut y faire monter, tombèrent; quelque-uns cependant, à la faveur de la gelée, qui étoit très fort pendant la nuit, ne laissèrent pas d'avancer, et lorsque le soleil paroissoit, on s'arrêtoit et on couvroit de feutre les chevaux, parceque il étoit impossible de marcher, tout étant rempli de verglas. On parvint ainsi, a-

pres

bers was little more than three degrees to the North of Cachemir, and its mountains formed part of the chain, which stretched across the centre of Asia. From this body of evidence we may conclude, that the historians of Alexander's actions have not imposed upon us, when they spoke of the cold, which the Prince's troops suffered in the Paropamisus, though these mountains are in such a Southerly part of the world. Strabo,\* who was not prejudiced in favour of these historians, expressly mentions the rigorous severity of the climate, and Q. Curtius is only reprehensible, when he states the length of the nights in this country, where the shortest day in the whole year consists of ten hours and a half.

The mountains, which cover the North of India have many passages, and that of Candahar is one, which is most travelled, especially by the caravans of Agra and Ispahan. The Macedonian army took the direct route from Bactra to Paropamisus, and there cannot be a doubt that Alexander entered India by this passage. Strabo is the writer of antiquity, that hath best illustrated the distressing march of the Macedonian army over these mountains. It was the second time that Alexander had conducted his troops into the country: the first was when he pursued the assassins of Darius.—“He came,” says the judicious geographer, “by Ariana

*pres beaucoup de fatigues, jusqu'au sommet de la montagne, où étoient les Siapoufch.*” *Hist. des Huns, par Monsieur de Guignes, Tom. 5.--42.*) Sherefeddin hath given, the Baron de St. Croix remarks, a similar detail of this march, *Hist. de Timur, Vol. 6. C. 3.*

\* Strabo, Lib. 15.



na into the borders of India, and leaving it on the right, and Paropamisus to the North, he passed into Bactriana. Having reduced under his subjection all the territories under the Persian dominion, and many other countries, he directed his march towards India, of which many things had been said, though without any certainty. In his return he took the shortest route over the same mountains, leaving India to the left. He then came back again and passed its Western borders, crossing the rivers Cophes and Choaspes." <sup>p</sup>

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## OF INDIA.

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The immense regions of India have been divided by the ancient geographers into Occidental India, which they call Send, and Oriental India, termed Hend,<sup>a</sup> inhabited by a people, whose religion, manners and police, give them the strongest pretensions to antiquity. This rich and fertile country bears the name of Sindou<sup>r</sup> and of Zomboudipo

<sup>p</sup> "Ἦκε μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ πλεῖστον δι' Ἀριανῶν ἀφ' οὗ ἐν δεξιᾷ, ὑπερβῆναι τὸν Παροπαμισόν εἰς τὰ προσαρκτικά μερῇ, καὶ τὴν Βακτριανήν· καταστρεψάμενθ' οὖν δεξιὰ πάντα ὅσα ἦν ὑπὸ Περσῶν, καὶ ἐτι πλεον, τότε ἤδη καὶ τῇ Ἰνδικῇ ἀρχομένη· λεγόντων μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς πολλῶν, καὶ σαφῶς δὲ· Ἀνεστρεψε δ' ἐν, ὑπερβῆναι τὰ αὐτὰ ὅση, κατ' ἄλλας ὁδὸς ἐπιτομωτέρας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὴν Ἰνδικήν, εἰτ' ἐπεστρεψε εὐθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ τῆς ὕλης τῆς ἐσπερίας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸν Κωφὴν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Χοασπην." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

<sup>a</sup> Abulf. Climat. Al-Hend-Al-Send, Rec. de Voyages par Thevenot, Tom. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Bagavadam, Lib. 4.--91.



Zomboudipo<sup>s</sup> in their early records, which are written in the Sanscreet language, but it must be acknowledged that it was little known by the rest of the universe before the days of Alexander. The relations of Ctesias and the crude and imperfect notions of Herodotus can afford only a small portion of satisfaction to any rational mind, and little confidence can be reposed on any information that may be gathered from them. The latter historian assures us, that Darius the son of Hytaspes penetrated the farthest into the East of all the Persian kings, but he cannot avoid acknowledging, that the Indians at a distance and to the South were never subject to the Persian power.<sup>t</sup> Strabo pretends, that Cyrus in his expedition against the Massagetes ought to be considered as the only one that approached this country, from which the Persians were satisfied with drawing some auxiliaries, in general furnished by the Hydrachians. We learn also from the Greek geographer, that even the Persians had not any knowledge of India, which had been enveloped in the darkest obscurity till Alexander's conquests.<sup>w</sup> Megasthenes, who was well versed in Indian antiquities, from his long residence with Porus and Sandracotta, is of opinion,<sup>x</sup> that

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<sup>s</sup> Ezour-vedam. Lib. 1. C. 3.

<sup>t</sup> “Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἑκάστῳ τῶν Περσέων οἰκεῖσι, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνέμει· καὶ Δαρείου βασιλῆος ὑδάμα ἔπηκυσαν.” (Herod. Lib. 3.--248.) The Baron de St Croix supposes Herodotus to have been only acquainted with the Indians near Bactria, and the people of Carmania and Gedrosia, with a few other nations.

<sup>w</sup> “Ἀλεξάνδρος γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα τούτῳ ἀνακαλύψας.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

<sup>x</sup> “Συναποφαινεται δε πως καὶ Μεγασθένης τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, κελύων ἀπίσειν ταῖς ἀρχαῖαις περὶ Ἰνδῶν ἱστορίαις.”

no foreign army, those of Bacchus and Hercules excepted, had ever reached this country before this period, and the Indians confirmed by their own evidence, according to Maximus Tyrius,<sup>1</sup> the Greek traveller's relation.—Alexander removed the veil, with which this part of the world had been till his time covered: Seleucus, one of his successors, pushed still farther his discoveries and arrived at the Ganges.<sup>2</sup> It was reserved for later ages to acquire more extended notions of this part of the globe, but they are still more limited and imperfect than they might be wished to be. Our most authentic accounts are those, which relate to the countries, that have been ravaged by fire and sword, and deluged from avarice with seas of blood. Yet the religion of the mild and inoffensive natives condemns to excessive tortures in another world the savage mortal that hath audaciously attempted the life of any of his brethren,<sup>3</sup> and it hath been their misfortune to inhabit a coun-  

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try,

αἰς· ὅτε γὰρ παρ' Ἰνδῶν ἔξω σάληναι ποτε σφατῆαν, ὅτ' ἐπελθεῖν ἐξωθεν καὶ κρατῆσαι, πλὴν τὴν μεθ' Ἡρακλέους, καὶ Διονύσου, καὶ τῆς νῦν μετὰ Μακεδόνων.” (Strabo. Lib. 15.--1007.) “Οὐτῶν ὁ Μεγασθένης λέγει, ὅτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐπισφατεύσασιν ὑδαμοῖσιν ἀνδρωποῖσιν, ὅτε Ἰνδοῖσιν ἀλλυὸς ἀνδρωπύς.” Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 5.--558.

γ “Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἐκεῖνῳ, Περσῶν ἔλῳν, καὶ Βακτρῶν γῆν, ἀβατον ὕσαν τῶς σφατῆα ξένη, ὡς Ἰνδοὶ ἐλεγόν, πλὴν γε Διονύσου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.” (Max. Tyrius. Dissert. 38.--399. 8<sup>vo</sup> Cantab. 1703.) The Baron de St. Croix refers his readers, for this passage, to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dissertation and 85<sup>th</sup> Page of this Edition.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--684.

<sup>3</sup> “Ceux qui les armes à la main auront tué un autre homme, feront eux-mêmes broyés dans l'enfer (le Patalene c'est à dire l'Abyme) et on les fera passer par des trous aussi petits que celui d'une aiguille.” (Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 3. C. 3.) “Ceux, qui font mal aux hommes et qui tuent les bêtes, seront jetés dans un lieu particulier, pour y souffrir des tourments horribles.” Bagavadam. Lib. 6.--106.

try, in which nature hath been prodigal of her choicest gifts, only to expose it without ceasing as a prey to other nations!

Strabo, though he acknowledges the advantages that the science of geography has derived from the Macedonian conquests, very justly censures the multitude of absurd stories in which the marvellous had usurped the place of truth. "India," says he, "is at a very remote distance, and few of us have seen it. They who have visited it, have seen only a small part of it, and have described it principally from what they heard. The little they personally learnt was picked up in the hurry of their military expeditions, and yet they have published these accounts with the same confidence, as if they had examined the most authentic memorials with attention."<sup>b</sup> The Greek geographer accuses also these writers with contradicting each other,<sup>c</sup> with exaggerating, and relating notorious falsities,<sup>d</sup> and he allows only Patroclus and Eratosthenes to have compiled their works from documents, whose fidelity was not to be suspected. A voluminous mass of fables might easily be collected from Onesicritus, Clitarchus, Megasthenes and Daimachus, and the two latter authors, in Strabo's opinion, deserve no sort of credit.

<sup>b</sup> "Και γὰρ ἀπώτατῳ ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων κατὰ πτευσαν αὐτήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδόντες, μετὰ τινα εἰδόντα τὰ δὲ πλείω λεγούσιν ἐξ ἀκοῆς καὶ ἃ εἶδον δὲ, ἐν πάρεσθω ἑξαγιωτικῇ καὶ ὁρῶν κατεμάχοντα διοτις εἶδε ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαγγέλλουσι καὶ ταῦτα συγγραψάντες, ὥς ἂν πεφροντισμένως ἐξητάσμενα." Strabo, Lib. 15.--1006.

<sup>c</sup> "Ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἕκαστω ταναντία λέγει πολλάκις." Strabo, Lib. 15.--1006.

<sup>d</sup> "Οἱ περὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς γράψαντες, ὥς ἐπὶ το πολὺ ψευδολογοὶ γεγόνασι." Strabo, Lib. 2.--121.

dit.<sup>c</sup> "They have even told of men with immense ears,<sup>f</sup> without mouths and noses, with only one eye, long distorted thighs, and the fingers and toes in a reversed position. They have renewed Homer's fable of the pigmies three feet high, and their wars with the cranes, and accounts are also given of ants that dig up gold, satyrs with unnatural heads,<sup>g</sup> and serpents which swallow both deer and oxen with their horns."<sup>h</sup> The judicious geographer observes, that he

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had

<sup>c</sup> "Διαφέροντως δ' ἄπιστον ἄξιον Διήμαχον τε καὶ Μεγασθένην· ἔτοι γὰρ εἶπεν οἱ τὸς ἐνωτοκοίτας καὶ χρομῆς, καὶ ἀρρίνας ἰσορῶντες, μονοφθαλμοὺς τε, καὶ μακροσκελεῖς, καὶ οπισθοδακτύλους· ἐνεκκινίσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμερικὴν τῶν Πυγμαίων γεγενομάχων, τρισπίδαμους εἰπόντες· Οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὸς χροτωρυχῆς μυρμηκῆς, καὶ Πανὰς σφηνοκεφαλῆς, ὄφεις τε καὶ ἔως καὶ ἐλαφροὺς συνκίεσσι καταπίνοντες." (Strabo. Lib. 2.-121.) The Baron de St. Croix observes that Caufabon durst not change the "ἐνεκκινίσαν" into "ἀνεκκινίσαν," though he wished to make the alteration, but that Monsieur de Brequigny meant to have restored the reading, on the authority of a manuscript in the French king's library. There is not perhaps any Greek author, that hath stood in greater need of emendation than Strabo. A new edition of this Greek geographer has been long in the Clarendon Press, from the hands of a gentleman, (the late Thomas Falconer Esq. of Chester) who was, in every respect, fully qualified for the learned and laborious office. His extensive reading and erudition were only equalled by the virtues of the heart, and without any compliment whatever to his memory, his death was one of those misfortunes, of which it may literally be said "Fuit hoc luctuosum fuis, acerbum Patriæ, grave bonis omnibus." Cicero de Orat. Lib. 3. Sect. 2. Tom. 1.--281. 4<sup>to</sup> 1740.

<sup>f</sup> "Τὸς ἐνωτοκοίτας, sleeping in their ears."

<sup>g</sup> "Σφηνοκεφαλῆς, with heads like wedges." I am desirous of proposing to some future editor of Strabo a trifling alteration in the Text, and of substituting "Κυνοκεφαλῆς" in the place of "Σφηνοκεφαλῆς." In many of the old manuscripts, the first letters of words were frequently omitted for the purpose of being afterwards blazoned and illuminated, and a number of errors crept into the text by these means, from the ignorance of transcribers. The mistake of the "ἦν" for "ὕν," especially when abbreviated, might easily be made, and the "Παν κυνοκεφαλῶν" will not be a very inaccurate description of the dog-headed baboon, which was a native of that part of the world.

<sup>h</sup> Dr. Shaw, in treating of the great Boa, "Boa constrictor," (Linnæi Syst. Nat. 373.) makes the following observations. "Qui vasta et mirabilia naturæ opera nunquam "Αυτοπτεῖ"

plati



had frequent occasion to animadvert on these tales and fables, in the history of the life of Alexander, but the Prince's historians, having drawn their information from these sources, could not help transmitting to us some of their absurdities. Diodorus Siculus mentions serpents of twenty-four feet<sup>1</sup> in length, and trees of one hundred

plati sunt, ii sane quicquid varie de illis scripserint peregrinatores, caute et dubitanter recipere solent; immo sæpe utpote fabulosum omnino rejiciunt. Inter hæc naturæ magnalia jure numerandi sunt serpentes illi ingentes, qui in nonnullis Indiæ, Africae, et Americæ regionibus inveniuntur; quique in tantam magnitudinem adolefcunt ut quadrupedia etiam majora ingurgitare possint; et longitudine adeo sunt enormi, ut sæpe pedes viginti, viginti-quinque vel etiam triginta superent. Horum temporis progressu multo rarior est conspectus, illosque probabile est regiones olim sane desertas, et nunc excultas, populosque frequentes reliquisse, et in tesqua deserta et remota exulasse. Spectantur tamen aliquando hortos et loca habitaculis suis propiora perreptantes." (Natur. Viar. Fascic. secund.) It is possible therefore serpents of this extraordinary magnitude might have then existed, and that these Grecian writers, mixing a little truth with much falsehood, may be supposed in the words of Strabo, "Λεγειν δ' εν τινι, η πιθανα, η μνημης αξια, ως τε η απισεντα μη παρ ελθην αυτα." (Lib. 15.--1023.) A more ridiculous account of the ants may be found in the latter part of Strabo, (Lib. 15.--1032.) where Megasthenes reports that they were "Θηριων αλωπεκων εκ ελαττους," not less than foxes.

<sup>i</sup> "Ειχεν η χωρα πολλους η παρελλαχμενους τοις μεγεθεσιν οφεις, οντας εκκαϊδεκαπηχεις" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--230.) Diodorus Siculus most probably borrowed the idea from Clitar-chus, for we learn from Ælian, "Κλειταρχος εν τη περι την Ινδικην φησι γινεσθαι οφιν πηχων εκκαϊδε-xx." (Ælian. De Nat. Animal. Lib. 17. C. 1. Tom. 2.--918. 4<sup>to</sup> 1744.) but Valerius Maximus hath given us an instance of a serpent of still more extraordinary dimensions. "Quæ quia usitatam rationem excedentia attigimus, serpentis quoque a T. Livio curiose pariter, ac facunde relata fiat mentio. Is enim ait in Africâ apud Bagradam flumen, tantæ magnitudinis anguem fuisse, at Attilii Reguli exercitum usu amnis prohiberet: multisque militibus ingenti ore correptis, compluribus caudæ voluminibus elisis, cum telorum jactu perforari nequiret, ad ultimum balistarum tormentis undique petitam, sili-cum crebris et ponderosis verberibus procubuisse, omnibusque et cohortibus et legionibus ipsâ Carthagine visam terribiliorem. Atque etiam cruore suo gurgitibus imbutis, corporisque jacentis pestifero afflatu vicinâ regione pollutâ, Romana inde fummo-visse castra. Dicit etiam beluæ corium CXX pedum, in urbem missum." (Lib. 1. C. 8.--117. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1726.) The Epitome of the eighteenth Book of Livy, which contained his account of



dred and five feet in height, whose shade extended to the distance of no less than three plethra.<sup>k</sup> Arrian with a less portion of credulity, when he has occasion to take notice of them, refutes their extravagance, and demonstrates their absurdity.<sup>l</sup>

The manners and customs of the Indians are not described with greater fidelity or truth. Q. Curtius assures us, that these people made

of this serpent, is only extant, but L. Florus, (Lib. 2. C. 2.--232. 8<sup>vo</sup> L. B. 1744.) Seneca, (Epist. 82.--338. 8<sup>vo</sup> Amst. 1672.) and Aulus Gellius (Lib. 6. C. 3.--351. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1706.) have taken notice of it, and Orosius hath left the story at full length. (Hist. Lib. 4. C. 8.--236. 4<sup>to</sup> L. B. 1767.) Pliny mentions this piece of history, and adds "Pellis ejus maxillæque usque ad bellum Numantinum duravere Romæ in templo. Faciunt his fidem in Italiâ appellatæ Boæ: in tantam amplitudinem exeuntes, ut Divo Claudio principe, occisæ in Vaticano solidus in alvo spectatus fit infans." Hist. Nat. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--153.

<sup>k</sup> "Δενδρων γαρ ειχε γενη διαλλαττοντα, η το μεν εψο εχοντα πηχων εβορμηκοντα, το δε παχσο μο-  
γισ υπο τετλιχων ανδρων περιλαμδανομενα, τρειων δε πλεδρων σκιαν ποιοντα." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17.  
Tom. 2.--230.) This is undoubtedly a fabulous narrative, but a part of it may have been found-  
ed on substantial facts. Mr. Marfden gives the following description of the Banyan tree, termed  
by the Portuguese, Arbor de Raiis, and by the Malays, Iawee Iawee. "It possesses the uncom-  
mon property of dropping roots or fibres from certain parts of its boughs, which when they touch  
the earth, become new stems, and go on increasing to such an extent, that some have measured in  
circumference of the branches, upwards of a thousand feet, and have been said to shelter a troop  
of Horse." In a note he adds, "The dimensions of a remarkable Banyan or Burr tree near Man-  
jee, twenty miles West of Patna in Bengal. Diameter 363 to 375 feet. Circumference of sha-  
dow at noon, 1116 feet; circumference of the stems, in number fifty or sixty, 921 feet." (Marf-  
den's History of Sumatra. 131.) This species of tree appears to be exactly described by the "των  
κατακαμπτομενους εχοντων της κλαδους, η περι τε μεγαδους ως θ' εφ' ενι δενδρω μεσημεριζειν σκιαζομενους ιπ-  
πιας πνεντηκοντα" of Aristobulus. Strabo. Lib. 15.--1017.

<sup>l</sup> "Εγω ετε οis τισι νομοis διαχρωνται εν τηδε τη ξυγγραφη ανεγραψα, ετε ζωα ειδη τινα αποπα η χω-  
γα αυτοis εκφερεi.-----εδε της μυμηκας, της τον χρυσον σφισιν εσχαζομενες,-----εδε οτα αλλα  
εφ' ηδονη μαλλον τι πεποιηται, η εσ αφηγησιν των οντων. ως ταγε κατ' Ιδους οσα αν αποπα ψευσανται, ουκ  
εξελεγθησομενα προς εδαμων." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 4.--346, 347.

made great use of wine in their entertainments, and that their kings in a state of intoxication were carried by their concubines to their beds.<sup>m</sup> But from a conviction that such excesses were equally prejudicial to the physical constitution of the inhabitants, and fatal to the repose of society, which often suffered on these inflammations of the sanguinary passions, the legislators of the Southern regions of the world had wisely prohibited the use of all intoxicating liquors,<sup>n</sup> and their laws and ordinances were rigorously observed by all the Indian nations. Strabo relates, that if even any of their kings was put to death in a debauch by his queen, as a recompence for the meritorious deed she had the right of marrying his successor.<sup>o</sup> The Brahmins abstained from wine, and the Hylobian philosophers,<sup>p</sup> the first and most illustrious order of the Samaneans were equally abstemious. It was not even permitted to stop where wine was disposed of, and a breach of the prohibition was attended with disgrace.<sup>q</sup> We learn from Megasthenes, that the Indians never drank  
any

<sup>m</sup> "Feminæ epulas parant, ab iisdem vinum ministratur, cujus omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem mero somnoque sopitum in cubiculum pellices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes Deos." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--632, 633.

<sup>n</sup> "At reges, et gentes Indiæ permittunt fornicationem, poculum autem inebrians interdicit: præter regem Camar, qui tam fornicationem quam vinum interdicit." Geog. Nul. 32, 33.

<sup>o</sup> "Μεθυσοντα δε κτενασσα γυνη βασιλεα, ηγεας εχει συνειναι το εκεινον διαδεξαμενω." Strabo. Lib. 15. --1036.

<sup>p</sup> "Τλοβιας——αφροδισιων χωρις, κ' οινου." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1040. See also Clement. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 3.--451.

<sup>q</sup> "Cela étoit même honteux a un homme du peuple." The Baron de St. Croix cites in support of the sentence the "Επονειδιζον τω μετρω" of Porphyrius. (De Abstin. Lib. 4.--364. Ed. de

any wine except in religious duties,<sup>r</sup> and the Manicheans, who had adopted many Indian customs, considered it, according to St. Ephraim,<sup>s</sup> “as the gall of the prince of darkness.”<sup>t</sup> Yet it must be allowed, Atheneus tells us, that Alexander proposed at the death of Calanus prizes for those, who drank the most, in compliment to the Indian passion for wine.<sup>w</sup> This writer extracted the anecdote out of the work of Chares, from whom it descended likewise to Ælian,<sup>x</sup> but Ælian hath added that this species of contention was an Indian custom. Neither the authority however of Q. Curtius, nor that of Chares, can weaken or set aside the evidence, that has been produced, which is confirmed by the relations of modern travellers. The immutability of the Eastern laws and usages, which are exactly what those of their parents were before them, is well known; and neither the lapse of ages, the commerce with neighbouring nations, nor the invasion of foreign armies

de Rhoer. 4<sup>to</sup> 1767.) The expression may possibly bear this construction, but the “*ingenuis hominibus*” of de Rhoer, is in decided opposition to it.

<sup>r</sup> “Οἶνον τε γὰρ οὐ πίνειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν θυσιαῖς μόνον.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1035.

<sup>s</sup> “Error Indicus Manetem tenuit.” S. Ephr. ex Vers. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. 1.--112.

<sup>t</sup> “Vinum putare fel principum tenebrarum.” St. August. de Morib. Manich. Lib. 2. C. 44.

<sup>w</sup> “Δια τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν Ἰνδῶν.” Athenæus. Lib. 10.--437.

<sup>x</sup> “Χαρίζομεν<sup>Θ</sup> δὲ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχώριον αὐτῶν ἀγωνισμὰ εἰς τὴν τῆς Καλάνου συγκαταθείρηται τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς προεσχημένοις· Οἰνοπουσίας γὰρ ἀγωνίαν πρῆβηκε.” Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 2. C. 41. Tom. 1.--172. 4<sup>to</sup> 1731.

armies have had any influence on them. They are at this day what they were in the most distant periods. Their aversion to all inebriating liquors still continues, and the miserable and flighted Cast of the Parins<sup>y</sup> is the only one, that has been addicted to them. Without recurring to the testimony of numerous writers, the respectable authority of the Ezour-Vedam will be sufficient to appeal to. We read in this ancient commentary on the Vedam, that Bramah and Vichnou followed by a long train of Brahmins, went to visit Chib, (the Lingam) on the mountain of Keilassan. They found him in the midst of his revels, and in the indecent gratification of his sensual passions. The Brahmins on this disgraceful spectacle loaded him with curses, and Chib on a recovery from his debauchery died of despair.<sup>z</sup> This fable, though refuted by Chumantou in the following chapter, proves notwithstanding the horror, which the Indians had of such excesses, as well as their sentiments respecting the manners of Bollodekan or those of the Baudists, which the Eastern philosopher, who is a speaker in the Ezour-Vedam, hath given us. Their king acknowledges no Deity whatever. "His manners correspond with his religious system, and are barbarous to a degree of horror. A human skull serves him for a cup, and one of his great pleasures is to be carried

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<sup>y</sup> Lettres, Edifiantes, Tom. 15.--282. The Baron de St. Croix admits however that a commerce with the Europeans appears to have corrupted the other Casts, and Mr. Hodges was a witness to a scene of native debauchery, where the European vices had not then been propagated. See Travels in India. 93. 4<sup>to</sup> 1793.

<sup>z</sup> Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 6. C. 4.

on a bed which has served for the dying.<sup>a</sup> Chumantou adds as the last trait of infamy, “that his common drink is an intoxicating liquor.”<sup>b</sup>

In the description of the luxury of the Oriental courts, and their respectful manner of treating the Indian monarchs, Q. Curtius hath been strictly accurate, but in the division of their time he is not equally correct. “Their months<sup>c</sup> contained but fifteen days, notwithstanding which, their years are complete. They compute their time by the course of the moon, but not as most people do, when that planet fills its orb; but when it begins to hollow itself into horns. This is the cause that they, who reckon after this manner, have them much shorter than other people.”<sup>d</sup>—The Indians have certainly for more than seventeen hundred years, and since the time of Salivaganam, employed the Solar year,<sup>e</sup> and it is very

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probable

<sup>a</sup> “Ces usages repondent assez bien a son system de religion, et ont quelque chose de barbare, qui fait horreur. Le crane d’un homme lui sert de coupe, il met son plaisir a se faire porter sur un lit, qui a servi à un mourant.” Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 6. C. 4.

<sup>b</sup> “Sa boisson ordinaire est une liqueur enivrante.” Ezour-Vedam, Lib. 7. C. 2. See also Lib. 2. C. 2.

<sup>c</sup> “Menses in quinos denos descriperunt dies. Anni pleni spatia servant. Lunæ cursu notant tempora, non ut plerique, quum orbem sidus implevit, sed quum se curvare cœpit in cornuâ. Et idcirco breviores habent menses, qui spatium eorum ad hunc lunæ modum dirigunt,” Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--633, 634.

<sup>d</sup> Digby’s Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--96.

<sup>e</sup> Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 2. C. 3.—Bayer. Regn. Bact. 164—199.—Leon, Euler, de Indorum anno solari astronomico ad calcem, Hist. Regn. Bact. 201,—&c. &c.



probable the system was in use in the days of Alexander. This people divide and subdivide their time almost to infinity. From Poromanou<sup>f</sup> to Ananden there is the immense and astonishing period of one hundred and forty millions of years!<sup>g</sup> Twelve months compose the Indian year, and each of these twelve months is again divided by the new and full moon.<sup>h</sup> Q. Curtius may possibly have been led into his error by this division, which at the same time proves the antiquity of this mode of calculation.

Arrian hath preserved in his fragment of Indian history some valuable relics of geography, and indeed there are few of the moderns, whose notions respecting the interior part of India are so correct. "This little work," says Monsieur d'Anville, "affords us more information respecting the course of the rivers of this country than many modern notions."<sup>i</sup> This able geographer does the historian also justice, on the subject of his detail of Alexander's marches in India, and he frankly avows that he is the author "entitled to the greatest credit."<sup>k</sup> Throwing a glance over the fourth chapter of his Indian history, we may perceive at once Arrian's accuracy and precision

<sup>f</sup> Bagavadam. Lib. 3.--44.—Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 3. C. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Extr. du Diragala-Sakkarum dans l'Hist. du Christian. des Indes. Tom. 2.--287.

<sup>h</sup> Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 2. C. 4.

<sup>i</sup> "Cet opuscule nous apprend bien des circonstances plus propres, que les notions actuelles à instruire de ce que deviennent les rivières de cette région entre elles." Geograph. Ancien. Tom. 2.--340.

<sup>k</sup> "Le plus accredité qui soit à consulter à ce sujet." Geograph. Ancien. Tom. 2.--334.

precision relating to the Ganges, the rivers that open into it, and the neighbouring nations. It is with concern, we must observe, that the same accuracy and precision are unfortunately wanting, when he mentions the Indus and the rivers which empty their waters into it.

Strabo, distinguished alike for his critical abilities and geographical knowledge, hath left us a description of India, that is well adapted to explain the country through which Alexander passed with his army. With great judgment he hath adopted the opinions that appeared to be most probable, he connects a concise account of the expedition of the Macedonian troops with his geographical information, and including an abridged history of the manners, the customs and philosophy of the Indians, he hath moulded the whole into a form, from which his readers may receive both entertainment and improvement. On a comparison of Ptolemy with this able writer, with Pliny whose brevity sometimes renders him obscure, and whose geographical terms are sometimes faulty, and in short with the historians of the life of Alexander, it is impossible to reconcile him with these different authors, or to draw any just idea of the course of the rivers of India, or the actual situation of places. The Bydaspes or Hydaspes, according to Ptolemy, receives successively two rivers, the Sandabilis and Adrius or Rhuadis, and afterwards empties itself into the Zadracus, which after an union on the right with the Bibasis, (without doubt the Hyphases or Hyphasis) after a short passage opens into

the Indus.<sup>1</sup> Monsieur d'Anville judiciously observes, "that it is not the diversity of some names with which we are dissatisfied in this description, but the erroneous manner in which these rivers are said to flow."<sup>m</sup> Alexander's marches, as related by Strabo and Arrian, furnish us with more certain information, and their descriptions are not inapplicable to the real situation of the country.

✕ The Conqueror of Asia began his march at Alexandria, the modern Candahar, passed the Cophena and the Choes and afterwards the Indus, the present Sinde,<sup>n</sup> and reduced Taxila. After his conquest, he quitted Taxila and entered into the country now called Pen-jab, which in the Persian tongue signifies five rivers, and crossed the Hydaspes. The banks of this river were celebrated for the defeat of Porus, and the Conqueror then advanced to the Acesines, and afterwards to the Hydroates or Heraotes, and at last to the Hyphasis, as it is termed by Arrian, or the Hypasis of Pliny and Q. Curtius, and Hypanis of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. It would be at present difficult to ascertain these rivers,

<sup>1</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--170.

<sup>m</sup> "Ce n'est pas tant la diversité de quelques noms qui déplait dans cette exposition, que le défaut dans la manière de faire courir ces rivières les unes par rapport aux autres." Eclaircissement sur la Carte de l'Inde. 36.

<sup>n</sup> "Indus incolis Sindus appellatur, (Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 20. Tom. 1.--688.) which is not widely different, the Baron de St. Croix observes, from the Send of the Oriental geographers, and the Chindou of the Ezour-Vedam.

rivers,<sup>o</sup> but it is probable that by the Hydaspes we are to understand the Shantrow, by the Acesines the Ravei or the river that passes by Lahour, by the Hydraotes the Biah, and by the Hyphases the Caul.<sup>p</sup> In the country of the Choes the difficulty increases. Monsieur d'Anville's opinion, on the whole seems the only one admissible. "We see" says he, "that the Choes being undoubtedly the river Cow, the Cophus, which we previously met with, must be the river (Mehram-Hir) which has its source near Candahar."<sup>q</sup>

The Choes is called by Strabo the Choaspes,<sup>r</sup> but it appears to be an error, and the Choes, which is the name given to this river by Arrian,<sup>s</sup> and confirmed with a slight alteration by the Coa of Ptolemy,<sup>t</sup> carries the appearance of authenticity. The name of the Choaspes indeed might occasion the mistake, and also the confusion

\* "Ces fleuves ont reçu tant de noms particuliers des modernes qui en ont parlé, qu'on a présentement de la peine à les discerner les uns des autres, et même la plupart de ces noms sont confondus." Thevenot. Tom. 5.--180.

p The Baron de St. Croix here adopts the opinion of Monsieur d'Anville. Major Rennel supposes the Hydaspes to be the Behut or Chelum, the Acesines the Ienaub or Chunaub, the Hydroates the Rauvee, and the Hyphasis the Settlege or Suttuluz. The reasons for his opinion may be seen in his valuable Memoir of a Map of Hindostan.

q "On voit que Choes étant indubitablement la rivière nommée Cow, le Cophos qui se rencontre auparavant doit être la rivière (Méhram-Hir) qui sort des environs de Candahar." Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--340.

r Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

s "Παρα τον Χοην καλεμενον ποταμον." Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 23.--316.

t Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--169.

fion of the Choes with the Choaspes of Sufia. Dionysius the geographer has fallen into the error, when he tells us, that the Choaspes rolling along its Indian waters washes the environs of Sufa.<sup>w</sup> Eustathius, his commentator, in his explanation of this geographer has added to the error, and pretends that by the Indian waters Dionysius intended to intimate, that the Choaspes, which flowed near Sufa, was a branch of the Indus.\* It might rather have been imagined that the poet, taking Aristotle for his guide, who speaks only of the Sufian Choaspes, though he supposes it to rise in the Paropamisus,<sup>y</sup> prolongs the course of this river from the extremities of India as far as Sufia, and only intended by the expression of its Indian waters, to point out its source in India. This mode of treating of the situation of different rivers and countries was not indeed without example amongst the Greeks, who have overturned the geography of the universe. Strabo relates that Diotimus, one of the chiefs of an Athenian deputation, had passed up the Cydnus from Cilicia to the Choaspes, which conducted him to Sufa.<sup>z</sup> It has been the fate of this river to be the subject of many such

<sup>w</sup> “—————Χοασπης

Ἐλκων Ἰνδον ἰδῶς, παρὰ τε ρειων χθονα Συσων.”

Dionys. Perieg. V. 1074, 1075.

\* “Χοασπης Ἰνδον μὲν ἰδῶς, ἔλκων, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδοῦ σχιζομένης ποταμῆς, παρὰ ρεων δὲ καὶ τὰ Συσων.”

Eustath. Comm. ad Dionys. Perieg. V. 1075.--132. 4<sup>to</sup> 1577.

<sup>y</sup> “Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Aristot. Opera. Tom. 1.--768.

<sup>z</sup> “Διοτιμον δὲ τὸν Στρομβιχῆς, πρεσβέας Ἀθηναίων ἀνηγόμενον, διὰ τῆς Κυδνὸς ἀναπλεῦσαι ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τὸν Χοασπιν ποταμὸν, ὅς παρὰ τὰ Συσων ᾤ, καὶ ἀφικέσθαι τεσσαρχοῦσιν εἰς Συσων.” Strabo. Lib. 1.--81.



such errors, and Monsieur de l'Isle is not warranted in his idea of the Choes falling into the Indus and running in a direction, which cannot possibly agree with the actual position of places. The pretended Choaspes, as Strabo assures us, discharges itself into the Cophena,<sup>a</sup> and the march of the Macedonian army, as described by Arrian, fully authenticates the opinion.

At the conflux of the Choes and Cophena we find, according to Monsieur d'Anville, the fabulous city of Nyfa, which he fancies to be the Nagara of Ptolemy, and the Nagar of the Turkish geographer, who places this city, from the thirty-two degrees and a half of Latitude which he assigns to it, East of Candahar, and five days journey from Kabal.<sup>b</sup> Monsieur d'Anville appears to have fixed the position of Nyfa, from the mountain Merou, which he imagines to be near it, in the thirty-third degree of Latitude. The historians of Alexander's life and actions have spoken of the proximity of the mountain Merou,<sup>c</sup> but instead of authorizing their evidence, it proves their ignorance and errors. The mountain Meru or Merou, which is pretended to have been the Meros of the Greeks, is highly celebrated amongst the Indians. The Bagavadam, one of their eighteen Pauranams or Canonical books, menti-

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<sup>a</sup> "Και τον Χοασπην, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ Κωφην ἰμβάλλει ποταμον." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

<sup>b</sup> Eclaircissement de la Carte de l'Inde. 21, 22.

<sup>c</sup> "Και το οὖν το πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε ἐν τῇσιν ὑπάρξουσιν ὡκισαὶ ἡ Νυσσα, Μηδὲ κληίζεται." (Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 1.--550.) Siu est sub radicibus montis, quem Merou incolæ appellant." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 10. Τοκ. 2.--636, 637.

ons it in the following terms. "In the middle of the world there is a great island called Iambam or Iambon, of one hundred thousand Yoffineys both in length and breadth. A Yoffiney is a distance of four hours' travelling. In the midst of this island is the mountain Merou, which is a hundred thousand Yoffineys in height, ten thousand deep, and thirty-two thousand wide. To the North of this mountain there are two other mountains, one called Nilavarnam, and the other Velleyvarnam, which form a chain from East to West as far as the salt ocean.<sup>d</sup> The details into which the author

<sup>d</sup> "Il y a au milieu du monde la grande île, nommée Iambam ou Iambon, qui a de longueur cent mille Yôssineis et autant de largeur. Un Yôssiney est une marche de quatre heures en chemin. Au milieu de cette île est la montagne Merou, haute de cent mille Yôssineis, profonde de dix mille et large de trente-deux mille. Au nord de cette montagne, il y a deux autres montagnes: l'une nommée Nilavarnam, et l'autre Velleyvarnam, qui font une chaîne de l'est à l'Ouest jusqu'à la mer salée." (Bagavadam. Livr. 5.-93. A manuscript in the library of Monsieur de Bertin.) The Baron de St. Croix hath introduced in a note the following curious description of the mountain Merou and its environs, from the Bagavadam, which was originally written in the Sanscreeet language, and reduced into French by Maridas Pouli, the principal interpreter at Pondicherry, who dedicated it to Monsieur de Bertin the French Minister and Secretary of State. "A l'est de Merou, il existe une autre montagne nommée Mandaram; au Sud celle nommée Souvarisvam, à l'Ouest une autre nommée Coumoudam; et au Nord celle de Sroungam. Ces quatre montagnes sont dans une position si exacte, qu'à les voir il paroîtroit qu'on y avoit placé de grandes colonnes pour y construire une voûte. Leurs elevations sont à dix milles yôssineis. Il y a quatre arbres aux sommets de ces quatre montagnes, lesquels se nomment Soûdam, Cadapam, Alam, et Nâval, qui portent des fruits et des fleurs dans tous les temps, dont les rameaux paroissent avoir mille yôssineys d'étendue.

Dans le Merou, il y a quatre etangs, etendus chacun à cent yôssineys en quarré; un rempli de lait, l'autre de beurre, le troisième de lait (lait caillé) et le dernier de suc de canne.

Les quatre montagnes ont chacune un jardin de delices; ces jardins sont nommés Nandam, Saytradam, Rayprassidam et Sarvalôca-paûtram. Celui qui mange le fruit de Soûdam (mangue) de la montagne de Mandoram, acquiert l'immortalité. Le jus de ces fruits courant comme un ruisseau,

thor of this work enters respecting the mountain Merou, are undoubtedly full of fables and puerile tales, and there is no possibility of ascertaining from such trash its real position. The Indian writer adds, "the great mountain Merou is lighted by the sun during six whole months: in the six others there is continual night." \* Soon after we are told, that "one part of the chariot of the sun rests on the mountain Merou, and the rest of it is suspended by the air." †

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ruisseau, forme un fleuve et est nommé Roffôdoram (courant de jus). Le jus des fruits de Nâval, qui est sur la montagne Souvarisvam, produisant de même un ruisseau nommé Jambou, a donné son nom à l'île Jambou qu'il arrose.

Les deux autres arbres produisent de même deux autres rivières, qui arrosent le pays d'Ilavroudam.

A l'Est, et à l'Ouest de même de Merou, il y a deux montagnes nommées Gedâ-Coûdam et Pariatram, qui forment une chaîne en longueur de 18,000 yôffineys, du Nord au Sud. Les Dieux fréquentent ces montagnes où ils prennent leurs divertissemens.

Au sommet de Merou, il y a une grande Ville de dix mille yôffineys en quarré. Cette Ville se nomme Brahmapatnam et est toute éclatante d'or. A l'entour de cette Ville, il y a huit autres Villes gouvernées par les Dieux des huit points Cardinaux de l'Univers. Un ruisseau nommé Brahmânda-Cadam, sortant du haut du Merou, arrose la Ville de Brahma, sort par les quatre portes de cette Ville, et forme quatre fleuves nommés Sadalam, Sadassou, Patram, et Alagucy. Un de ces fleuves s'élevant en l'air, lave les pieds de Visnou. L'autre, qui sort du côté du Sud, arrose le pays de Nichetam, Yemacoudam, Ymossalam, et se jette ensuite dans le pays de Baradam. C'est ce fleuve que Sivan prit sur sa tête, et delà il a été nommé Ganga-Taren ou Siven, (celui qui porte sur sa tête Ganga.) Bagavadam. Livr. 5.

\* "La grande montagne Merou est éclairée par le soleil pendant six mois entiers: une nuit continuelle règne les six autres." Bagavadam. Livr. 5.--100.

† "Le chariot du soleil est appuyé d'un bout contre le mont Merou, et le reste est soutenu par l'air." (Bagavadam. Livr. 5.--102.) Sonnerat adds "Il n'a qu'une roue; sept chevaux verts le traînent; le Dieu Avounin est le conducteur. Les vagaguilliers au nombre de soixante mille suivent le soleil dans ses douze loges, en l'adorant et psalmodiant différens airs à sa louange." Voyages aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine." Tom. 1.--122. A Work of authenticity and value.

The Ezour-Vedam, an ancient commentary of the Vedam, written in the Sanscreeet language and translated by a Brahmin of Benares, fixes the situation of the mountain Merou, at the source of the Ganges, which rises in this mountain. The description of it in this Indian book, which supposes it to be in the centre of the world and of an immense height,<sup>s</sup> agrees however even still less with the position which a modern geographer hath allotted to it. Bayer observes, that in the Indian geography entitled Puwana-Sacaram, the mountain Merou is described in a very fabulous manner,<sup>h</sup> and perhaps its existence has no other foundation than Indian imagination. In a work of Fo or Foe, an ancient Indian legislator, which has been translated into the Chinese language, the extasies of a Samanian philosopher are compared to the immobility of the mountain

z “Au milieu de la terre, est la plus grande de toutes les montagnes, qui s’ appelle Merou. C’ est-là qu’ est situé le pays appelé Zomboudipo, qui est le pays de l’ Inde: au Midi et au Couchant de la montagne de Merou, sont situés differens pays. En voici les noms, Zombou, Pelokio; Koucho, Chako, Krohonro, Pourkoro, Chalmouli. Tous ces pays, ou toutes ces îles, sont également habites. Il y a plusieurs fleuves sur la terre. Les principaux sont Brommora, Bodra, Ganga ou le Gange: ces trois fleuves prennent leur source dans le mont Merou, et vont se décharger dans la mer. Le premier coule au Nord et le Gange au Midi. Il traverse à son embouchure et inonde quantité de bois. J’ ai dit que le Zomboudipo ou l’ Inde étoit situé au Midi de la montagne. &c. &c.” (Zend-Avesta. Livr. 1. C. 3.) “Au milieu de la terre est une montagne d’ une hauteur prodigieuse à qui on a donné le nom de Merou. Aux quatre côtés de celle-ci s’ elevent quatre autres montagnes; savoir, les montagnes Ketouman, Mallioban, Mandaro, Chuparchodo. Il y a pareillement sur ces quatre montagnes quatre arbres d’ une grandeur prodigieuse; savoir, les arbres Ambro, Kodanbo, Zombou, Niogrodo. Au pied de la montagne Mandaro coule un fleuve qui, recevant dans ses eaux les fleuves qui tombent de l’ ambre Zombou, en contracte l’ odeur. Tout le pays qu’ arrose ce fleuve est appelé Zomboudipo: voilà d’ où il a tiré son nom.” Zend-Avesta. Livr. 1. C. 6.

<sup>h</sup> “Fabulosissime describitur,” Hist. Regn. Bact. 4.



mountain Siami, which is the Merou or Smerou<sup>i</sup> under contemplation.

To give some credit to the travels of Bacchus, the Greeks supposed that all the monuments, which they met with, were so many vestiges of the progress of this Deity. Stephanus Byzantinus reckons no less than ten cities of the name of Nyfa, some in Lybia, some in Ægypt, others in Greece, Thrace and mount Caucasus, and the fourth in the list is that in India.<sup>k</sup> Hefychius, on the contrary, pretends that Nyfa was a general term applied to many mountains in different parts of the world,<sup>l</sup> and he mentions no less than fifteen under this denomination. Aristodemus, in his first book of Theban inscriptions, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus into India, takes notice only of the mountain of Nyfa,

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and

<sup>i</sup> Histoire des Huns, par Monsieur de Guignes. Tom. 1. P. 2.--233.

<sup>k</sup> "Etienne de Byfance compte jufqu' a dix villes de Nyfa——la feptieme eft celle de l'Inde." This is a grofs typographical error, and I have rectified it. "Τεταρτη εν Ινδοις." (Stephan. Byzant. 594. Fol. L. B. 1694.) The sentence however includes another of greater magnitude, and the Baron de St. Croix hath confounded in a very extraordinary manner the cities, which bore the name of "Νικαια," with thofe termed "Νυσσα" or "Νυσα," whose etymology and derivation were very different. The latter might have a fabulous relation to Dionysius or Bacchus: the former were founded probably on the site of fome local victories, and Arrian tells us the Nicæa in India, which Stephanus Byzantinus mentions, was built in memory of the defeat of Porus. "Και την μεν, Νικαιαν, της Νικης της κατ' Ινδων επωνυμιον ωνομασσε." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 19.--379.

<sup>l</sup> "Νυσα κ' Νυσηιον Ορεσ' εν α' εν α' τοπον' εστι γαρ Αραβιας, Αιθιοπιας, Αιγυπτου, Βαβυλωνος, Ερυθρας, Θηταλιας, Κιλικιας, Ινδικης, Λιβυης, Λυδης, Μακεδονιας, Ναξου περι το Παλγαιον, τοπος Συριας."

Hefychius. Tom. 2.--694. Ed. Alberti. 1764.



and Clitarchus confines himself to it in the history of Alexander.<sup>m</sup> Pliny speaks of the mountain of Nyfa<sup>n</sup> and of a city with the name,<sup>o</sup> and it appears by a passage of Aristotle,<sup>p</sup> that the Greek writers amused themselves with sketching out descriptions of this mountain. Without any attempt at a decision whether Nyfa was a city or a mountain, its existence in India is as problematical as even the expedition of Bacchus, of which the Ancients imagined it to be a proof.<sup>q</sup> Arbitrary etymologies can scarcely be allowed to be sufficient to demonstrate the identity of any of the modern cities with the ancient Nyfa, and even from the number which have equal pretensions to the honour, it would certainly be multiplied in such a manner as to discredit their general claim to the antiquity.

<sup>m</sup> “Και Κλειταρχῶς ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱστορίαις· προστίθεται ὅτι καὶ Νύσα οὗ ἐστὶ ἐν Ἰνδικῇ.” Scholia, ad Apoll. Rhod. V. 907. Lib. 2.

<sup>n</sup> “In Indiæ vero Nyfa monte.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 8. C. 39. Tom. 2.--201.

<sup>o</sup> “Nec non et Nyfam urbem plerique Indiæ adscribunt, montemque Merum, Libero patri sacrum.” Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 21. Tom. 1.--691.

<sup>p</sup> De Mundo, C. 1. Aristot. Opera, Tom. 1.--846.

<sup>q</sup> “Ἐστὶ δὲ τις θητὴ εὐρείτην παρὰ Γαγγῆν  
Χωρὸς τιμῆς τε καὶ ἱερῶς, ὃν ποτὶ Βακχῶ  
Θυμῶντων ἐπατήσεν.”

Dionys. Perieg. 1153—1155.

“Τὸν δὲ Χωρὸν ὃν ὁ Διονυσίῳ Θυμῶντων ἐπατήσεν, θητὸν καὶ τιμῆντα καλεῖ, καὶ ἱερὸν· λεγὼν ὅτι ὁ τοιαύτῳ τοπῷ Νύσσα καὶ ὁδῷ ἐκλήθη. ἥτις περὶ τὸν Γαγγῆν ἐστὶν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσάκειδος Νύσσης κληθεῖσα, ἀφ’ ἧς καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Διονύσῳ κληθῆναι δοκεῖ· Νύσσα δὲ, κατὰ τὸν γεωγγραφόν, πόλις ἐν Ἰνδῇ, κτισμα Διονύσου, καὶ οὐδὲ Μιτρῶς.” Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 4<sup>to</sup> Stephan. 1577.—See also Apollodorus. Lib. 3. C. 5.—Philostrat. Vit. Apollod. Tyan. Lib. 2. C. 9.—Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 10.—Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 2.

antiquity. Abulfeda mentions many cities termed Nyfapaur in Persia, Baſtriana and the Khorasan, and two with the name of Nafa,<sup>r</sup> which differs little from Nyfa, one in Persia and the other in the Kerman. Far from connecting the etymology of Nyfapour with Dionysius or Bacchus, some learned men have understood the word to be derived from the name of some of the Eastern princes, as in the instance of Sapor, a king of Persia.<sup>s</sup> It seems, in short, that we have no more reason to mark the precise situation of Nyfa or the mountain Meros in our modern maps, than that of the celebrated island of Panchaia of Euemerus. We may be however satisfied that the fables, which have been interwoven in the description of mount Meros, originated from the superstitious veneration, that many people and particularly the Eastern nations, entertained for some celebrated mountains. Porra in the kingdom of Arrakan, and Pecha in China, the Isje in Japan, Olaimi in the country of the Apalachites, and a multitude of others acquired a great reputation, and from thence followed the species of religious veneration with which they were afterwards regarded. The existence of these mountains, admitting even the accounts, that have been circulated concerning them, to have been in general fabulous, is nevertheless certain, though we may not be able, to ascertain their true position and that of the mountain Merou in particular.

Alexander

<sup>r</sup> "Nafa quoque est urbs in Perside, et altera ejusdem nominis in Karman." Abulfeda, Vers. cit.

<sup>s</sup> Golius in Affer, 188.—Schultens, Ind. Geograph. ad Calcem Vitæ. Salad, Bohadini Nyfabour,

Alexander after the conquest of the whole country on this side of the Indus, passed that river, and arrived at Taxila, and then marched in a direct line to the Hydaspes. The situation of Taxila ought therefore to be South of the actual junction of the Tchenau with the Indus. On the supposition of its being situated on the conflux of these two rivers, the Macedonian army in their march to attack Porus must have previously passed the Tchenau, which by no means agrees with the itinerary of Alexander. This Prince having received, as we learn from Arrian a reinforcement of five thousand Indians under the command of Taxilus, directed his march towards the Hydaspes and encamped upon its banks. <sup>c</sup> Strabo informs us that Taxila, a powerful city and governed by excellent laws, was between the Indus and the Ganges, <sup>w</sup> but he certainly would not have expressed himself in this manner, if it had been situated at the conflux of the Tchenau and the Indus. These observations appear to justify the historians of Alexander's life and actions, though Monsieur d'Anville accuses them with having mistaken the Tchenau for the Indus, and from this error with having multiplied the latter river. "From the course of Alexander's expedition," says the learned geographer, "we may suppose the Tchenau to be the river, that he passed under the name of the Indus, for instead of four rivers, we meet with five undoubtedly

<sup>c</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 8.--357.

<sup>w</sup> "Μεταξυ δε τε Ινδου, κ̃ τε Ἰδασπου, Ταξιλα εἰσι πόλις μεγάλη κ̃ εὐνομήτατη." Strabo, Lib. 15.  
--1022.

doubtedly in the course of his expedition." \* On the contrary there are only four. Alexander marches from Taxila, reaches the Hydaspes, which he passes, and he afterwards crosses the Acesines, Hydraotes and Hyphasis. † The Macedonian monarch, agreeable to Strabo, having learnt that the rivers of India formed junctions with each other, directed his march below these junctions, to avoid the inconveniency of crossing the rivers so very frequently, and the embarrassment from his want of boats. ‡ When he passed therefore the Hydaspes, he must have left the Tchenau to the left.—It might be difficult at present to determine what was the Tchenau, § as the Ancients have not left us any very clear notions of it, though it seems likely to be the Tutape or Toutape, that Arrian speaks of as a considerable river, which can only agree with the Tchenau, though he supposes it to empty itself into the Acesines, ‖ whose course is extended, against all probability, to the South of Taxila. Arrian places also Peucela at a little distance from

\* "La suite de l'expédition d'Alexandre veut que le Tchenau soit la rivière qu'il traversa sous le nom d'Indus; car au lieu de quatre fleuves à reconnoître dans la suite de cette expédition, comme on verra ci-après, il y en auroit indubitablement cinq." Eclaircissement sur la Carte de l'Inde. 34.

† Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 14.--437.

‡ Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

§ The Tchenau is one of the most rapid rivers of Penjab. See Thevenot. Tom. 5.--174, 175.  
—Voyage de Bernier. Tom. 2.--258, 259.

‖ "Και Τυταπὸς δὲ μέγας ποταμὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀκισίνην ἐκδίδει." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 4.--556.

from the Indus,<sup>c</sup> a position, which cannot be reconciled even by Monsieur d'Anville<sup>d</sup> to the Tchenau: Peucela is really situated on the Indus, which we meet with immediately after the Cophina.<sup>e</sup> Q. Curtius neither possesses the accuracy nor precision, that distinguish Arrian's geographical details, and whilst he is obscure when he speaks of the different people of India and its rivers that throw themselves into the Indus, he is apt to contradict the historical part of his work. ¶ This Latin historian assures us without reserve, that the Acesines augments the waters of the Ganges, which receives it near its embouchure. "The<sup>f</sup> Acesines swells it: the Ganges intercepts this river a little before it discharges itself into the sea; at their first meeting they dash furiously against each other, for the Ganges is very rough where it receives it, and the Acesines is too violent to give way to the other's resisting streams."<sup>g</sup> We are soon afterwards informed that the Acesines becomes con-  
founded

<sup>c</sup> "Και άλλη ποταμός Πευκελάς, επί μεγάλην ἡ αὐτῆς, ὃ μακρὸν τὸ Ἰνδόν." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 1. --550.

<sup>d</sup> Eclaircissement sur la Carte de la I<sup>re</sup> Inde. 33, 34.

<sup>e</sup> "Μετα μὲν ἔν τῳ Κωφῇ ὃ Ἰνδὸν ῥεῖ." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1022.

<sup>f</sup> "Acesines eum auget. Ganges decurfurum in mare intercipit: magnoque motu amnis uterque conliduntur: quippe Ganges asperum os influenti objicit; nec repercussæ aquæ cedunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--623.) We learn from Arrian that the Acesines discharges itself into the Indus. "Ὁ δὲ Ἀκεσίνης ἐν πολλοῖς ἑνὶ ῥέει τῷ Ἰνδῷ." (Hist. Ind. C. 4.--556.) And Pliny adds his authority to Arrian. "Indus-----undeviginti recipit amnes. Sed clarissimos, Hydaspem ----- Cantabram ----- Acesinem et Hyphasin." Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 20. Tom. 1.--688.

<sup>g</sup> Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--92, 93.



founded with the Hydaspes <sup>h</sup> when they join, and the Macedonian fleet suffered exceedingly where these two rivers met,<sup>i</sup> but he is again mistaken, for the Acesines, called erroneously the Tanais <sup>k</sup> by some authors, loses itself in the Indus.<sup>l</sup> Justin is guilty of an error equally extravagant, when he supposes Alexander to descend by the Acesines to the Ocean.<sup>m</sup> The anonymous author of *Ravennus* <sup>n</sup> hath copied this error, though Justin indeed seems to retract it in the following chapter, where he mentions the arrival of the Macedonian Conqueror at the Ocean, and adds that he happily reached the mouths of the Indus.<sup>o</sup>

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## Monsieur

<sup>h</sup> “Hydaspes amnis Acefini committitur.” (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--691.) “Acefini Hydaspis confunditur.” Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--694.

<sup>i</sup> “Iterque meant navigia, in tenuem alveum cogitur. Itaque quum crebri fluctus se invehent, et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent; subducere nautæ cæperunt. Sed ministeria eorum hinc metu, hinc prærapida celeritate fluminum occupantur. In oculis duo majora omnium navigia submersa sunt; leviora quum et ipsa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulsa sunt.” Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--694, 695.

<sup>k</sup> See Steph. Byzant.

<sup>l</sup> Arrian is particularly circumstantial. “Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ μέγας ποταμὸς τὸν Ἀκεσινὴν ἐμβάλλει· ἐμβάλλων δὲ, τὸ πᾶν ὕδωρ, Ἀκεσινὴν παρέρχεται καλεῖσθαι. Αὐτοῦ δὲ ὁ Ἀκεσινὴς ἔτι καὶ ἐνβάλλει τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ τὰς παραλάβων τούτων, ἐπὶ Ἀκεσινὴς ἐστίν. Καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀκεσινὴς παραλάβων, τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐμβάλλει· ἐνβάλλων δὲ, ἐν γὰρ ἔχει τὸν Ἰνδόν.” Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 14.--437.

<sup>m</sup> “Alexander ad Acefinem amnem pergit: per hunc in Oceanum devenitur.” Justin. Lib. 12. C. 9.--327.

<sup>n</sup> Lib. 2. C. 3.

<sup>o</sup> “Secundo æstu ostio fluminis Indi invehitur.” Justin. Lib. 12. C. 10.--331.

Monfieur d'Ifle, inftead of conducting the Hyphafis, which is the moft Eaſtern river of Penjab, into the Aceſines, ſuppoſes it to flow into the Indus, and extends its courſe as far as Patalene, but he has not explained his reaſons for deviating ſo widely from all the hiſtorians who have deſcribed this river.<sup>p</sup> Notwithſtanding the obligations we are under to Monfieur d'Ifle for his labours, which have been ſo very uſeful to a knowledge of the globe, his map of Alexander's empire is undoubtedly imperfect, and the conqueſts of that monarch are very inaccurately ſtated. Arrian, the ableſt and beſt informed guide that could have been conſulted on the ſubject, appears to have been entirely neglected. Monfieur d'Anville hath kept him conſtantly in view, and hath profited from the luminous manner in which the Greek hiſtorian hath treated of this part of the world, which was ravaged by the Conqueror of the Eaſt. After having reduced the elevation of Latitude, given to Cachemir by the Oriental calculations,<sup>q</sup> and having by theſe means allowed a greater extent to the marches of the Macedonian army, Monfieur d'Anville imagines he is able to aſſert, that Alexander reached Cachemir, though he allows, "that in the details of Alexander's marches, we ſee nothing that diſtinguiſhes the actual ſituation of this country."<sup>r</sup> But it ſeems an indiſpenſable

<sup>p</sup> Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l'Inde.

<sup>q</sup> Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l'Inde. 27, 28.

<sup>r</sup> "Quoique dans le detail des marches de ce Prince, on ne voit rien qui reſſemble à ce qui diſtingue ce pays par ſa ſituation," *Geographe Ancienne*, 338. Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l'Inde. 34.

indispensable rule, in a comparison of ancient and modern opinions on such subjects, and an endeavour to conciliate them, that some regard should invariably be had to the inferences, which may be naturally drawn from the situations of the places in dispute. Cachemir supplies us with decisive ones.—Shut up by the stupendous mountains, which separate India from Thibet and Great Tartary, it is impossible to penetrate into it on any side, except by a painful and laborious ascent in the face of immense rocks. <sup>s</sup> Abulfeda relates, that Oguzkhan was stopped a whole year at the entrance of these mountains, <sup>t</sup> which admitted only three passages, attended with such almost insurmountable obstructions, <sup>w</sup> that they had guaranteed the country against the incursions of many conquerors. <sup>x</sup> If Alexander had penetrated into it, is it to be supposed that his historians would have been silent on his success, and taken no notice of such an important conquest?—Monsieur d'Anville acknowledges there is not any thing in Alexander's itinerary,

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from

<sup>s</sup> Notes on Abulgazi. 52.

• Hist. Gen. des Tatars par Abulgazi-Khan. 53.

<sup>w</sup> Sherefeddin. Hist. de Timur-bec. Livr. 4. C. 31. "Il n'y a que trois passages tres etroits pour pouvoir passer dans ce pays; on appelle ces passages Derbend. Celui de Khorassan est tres difficile et etroit, les bêtes chargées n'y peuvent pas passer; on est obligé de faire transporter les marchandises sur le dos des hommes qu'on loue pour cet effet; ce qu'ils font avec beaucoup de peine: le passage des Indes est de meme qu'il celui du Khorassan. Celui de Thibet est à la verité un peu moins difficile que les autres; mais comme à la distance de quelque journées ce terrain n'est couverte que d'Herbes venimeuses, cela est cause que la cavalerie ni les Caravannes ne peuvent pas y passer; c'est pourquoi ce passage n'est guere praticable." Geograph. Turc. 404, 405.

<sup>x</sup> Geograph. Turc. 404.

from which we even may suppose it, but “he is unwilling to believe, that a knowledge of this country, so celebrated in India for its beauties was concealed from the Ancients.”<sup>y</sup> The same reasons would induce us to believe that China was also known to them. “Any similitude in the name,” adds Monsieur d’Anville, “is an argument for the probability.”<sup>z</sup> But do we find any striking resemblance to justify the observation between the Caspira of the Ancients and Cachemir, or rather the Kafschmir of the Orientals, still called in some places, Kichimir? Though the first syllable indeed has some resemblance in sound, no certainty arises from it that the two words were intended to express the same, and the proof, which the learned geographer draws from the position of Caspira, the capital of the country with its name, which Ptolemy places in the centre of India,<sup>a</sup> is equally fallacious.

The Macedonians, on their arrival at the mouths of the Indus, first became acquainted with the tides, and looked on the flux and reflux of the Ocean with wonder and astonishment.<sup>b</sup> A modern writer,

<sup>y</sup> “Que la connoissance de cette contrée, si celebre dans l’Inde par ses agrements, ait été cachée à l’antiquité.” Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--338.

<sup>z</sup> “Un grand rapport de denomination est un moyen de convenance.” Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--338.

<sup>a</sup> Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--171.

<sup>b</sup> “Ενταυθα ὁρμισαντων, τῷ παθημα ἐπιγιγνεται τῆς μεγάλῃς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀμπωτις\* ὥστε ἐπὶ ξηρῶ ἀπελiefθησαν αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆες, Καὶ τὸτο εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἐγνώκασιν τοῖς ἀπ’ Ἀλεξανδρον, ἐκπληξιν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ εὖ μικροῦν

writer, distinguished both for his ingenuity and paradoxes, hath criticised this relation of Alexander's historians, and remarks that the Macedonian troops could not have been surpris'd at the phenomenon, as they had already been spectators of it in their passage on the coast of Ægypt. But the Macedonian troops did not then see the Red sea, and could only have learnt from information, what they afterwards witnessed on a view of the Ocean in the greatest magnificence, as the highest known tides are those of the gulph of Sinde at the mouths of the Indus, where the sea retires with uncommon rapidity, and leaves a great tract of sand uncovered and dry.<sup>c</sup> This effect therefore of the flux and reflux of the Ocean naturally astonish'd the Macedonians, and hath been properly observed by their historians. It was not then so very trifling as Le Clerc hath imagin'd<sup>d</sup> in his criticism on Q. Curtius. But the Latin historian is often censured by him, frequently without taste and with injustice, and constantly with keenness and severity.

Alexander began his march from the mouths of the Indus, to return to Babylon through the country to the West of this river. Plutarch informs us, that after having passed through the country of the Orites and Gedrosia, the Conqueror of the East employed  
seven

σμίξαν παρῆσχε. πολὺ δὲ δὴ ἐτι μείζονα, ἀπὸ τε διελθούσης τῆς ὥρας προσήει τε τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὰ σκαφὴ μετῴριζοντο." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 19.--445. 446.) Q. Curtius hath launched as usual into a luxuriant description. Lib. 9. C. 9. Tom. 2.--730—736.

<sup>c</sup> Varenius. Geograph. C. 14. Propos. 14.

<sup>d</sup> "Huc etiam accedit, quod æstus in mari Indico exiguus sit, nec tantos tumultus creare possit,"  
Judicium de Curtio. 453.



seven days in crossing Carmania, and then arrived at the capital of Gedrosia. This must be an error of the transcriber, and we should read Carmania with Dacier, which is a more natural correction than one suggested by Moses of Chorene,<sup>e</sup> and agrees with the accounts of the other historians, and Arrian<sup>f</sup> and Strabo<sup>g</sup> in particular. The text of Plutarch will then only present the extraordinary transposition of Gedrosia to the West of Carmania.

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### OF THE NAVIGATION OF NEARCHUS.

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The expedition of Nearchus forms a period of some consideration in the history of the navigation of the Ancients, and has a claim to particular investigation.—Nearchus was the son of Adrotimus, a native of Crete,<sup>h</sup> and one of the ablest of the Macedonian officers. Before Alexander's accession to the throne, Nearchus and the young Prince had been intimately connected, and Philip had even ordered Nearchus into exile for his attachment

<sup>e</sup> "Εκ τῆς Γεδροσίας." Not, in Plutarch.

<sup>f</sup> "Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 22.--452.

<sup>g</sup> Strabo. Lib. 15.--1051—1053.

<sup>h</sup> Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 18.--587.

ment to his Son, at which he took offence. Alexander confided to him the command of his fleet, which was to pass from the mouths of the Indus to the Euphrates, and the choice which he made, was highly pleasing to all who were to have a share in the expedition.<sup>i</sup> Amongst the adventurers there were Phœnicians, Cypriots, people from the Hellespont, and Ionians, and they saw with satisfaction Nearchus at the head of the enterprise, of which he hath given a circumstantial relation in his journal: Arrian hath preserved it. Pliny after mentioning that the journal of Nearchus and Onesicritus neither supplied him with the names nor distances of places,<sup>k</sup> attempts to give us an abridged itinerary, with the names of places and their distances reduced into Roman miles, but it hath not any resemblance with that which Arrian describes. The difference is too remarkable to suppose it to be owing to the ignorance of transcribers.

From what Pliny hath told us, it evidently appears that he had not read either the journal of Nearchus or that of Onesicritus, and in all likelihood he had simply consulted the production of Juba, which was only a compilation from Onesicritus. A comparison of it with the journals of Nearchus will at once prove the difference

<sup>i</sup> Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 20.--591.

<sup>k</sup> "Indicare convenit, quæ prodit Onesicritus, classe Alexandri circumvectus in Mediterranea Perfidis ex India, narrata proxime a Juba: dein eam navigationem, quæ ex his annis comperta servatur hodie. Onesicriti et Nearchi navigatio nec nomina habet mansionum, nec spatia." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 23. Tom. 1.--700.

difference of the two works. *Organa* is the single word, which hath not suffered alteration, and been varied by *Onesicritus* or *Juba*: the foundation of a city, whose name is not known and that of *Xilonopolis*, of which *Onesicritus* speaks, are suppressed by *Nearchus*.

Pliny confounds the situation of many countries: the *Orites* are placed before the *Arbians*,<sup>1</sup> and immediately after *Carmania*. But the *Arbians* were in fact situated to the West of the *Indus*, and had the *Orites* on their borders, who had *Gedrosia* to the West, bounded by the vast deserts of *Carmania*. *Onesicritus*, from a jealousy of *Nearchus*, endeavoured to appropriate to himself the discoveries of this Admiral, and made a point of contradicting him. To this source may be traced the variance in his relations, which have been inconsiderately adopted both by *Juba* and by *Pliny*.

*Strabo*, according to *Monfieur Huet*, “treats the works of *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus* as fictions, though he admits, that some truth is blended with their fables.”<sup>m</sup> Undoubtedly the Greek geographer classes *Nearchus* with those writers, that have circulated falsities respecting *India*, but he was not the principal object of the observation, and the censure was more particularly applicable

<sup>1</sup> “*Oritas ab Indis Arbis fluvius determinat.*” *Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 7. C. 2. Tom. 2.--14.*

<sup>m</sup> “*Strabon traite ces ouvrages de fiction; quoique il ne nie point qu’ils soient meles de quelque verité.*” *Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens. 349.*

cable to Megasthenes and Daimachus.<sup>n</sup> When he speaks more circumstantially of the journal of Nearchus, it is without any reflection on the authenticity of the work, and some exaggerations of the facts and hyperbolical expressions were principally criticised. These are the common foibles of travellers in general, who sometimes suffer severely in their expeditions, and are often accustomed to magnify objects, from their fears and apprehensions, beyond the just proportion of the real dangers, which they were exposed to.<sup>o</sup> The learned Huet in another part, of his work, does however justice to Nearchus and his journal, when he assures us the memoirs of his expedition were both “useful in commerce and in war.”<sup>p</sup>

Dodwell, in his dissertation on the journal of Nearchus by Arrian, observes that Pliny might have borrowed what he relates, respecting the navigation of Nearchus and Onesicritus, from those authors as well as from Juba’s extract out of the work of Onesicri-

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tus,

<sup>n</sup> “Διαφερόντως δ’ ἀπίσκειν ἄξιον Δημάρχου τε καὶ Μεγασθένει.” (Strabo, Lib. 2.--121.) Yet he had before expressed more than doubts of the writers in general on India, and Nearchus comes in for a share of the censure. “Ἀπαντες μὲν τοῖνυν οἱ περὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς γράψαντες, ὥς ἐπὶ το πολὺ ψευδολογοὶ γέγονασι, καὶ ἵπερβολὴν δὲ Δημάρχῳ· τὰ δὲ δεύτερα λέγει Μεγασθένης, Ονησικριτῷ τε καὶ Νεάρχῳ, καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι παραψέλλοντες ἦδη.” Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.

<sup>o</sup> “Ou la crainte plutot que le peril grossit les objets, et qui par cette raison doivent selon Strabon meriter notre indulgence.” I find no traces of the indulgence, which Strabo is supposed to bespeak for these writers. “Εἰκοῦ μὲν ἐν πρὸς ἵπερβολὴν ἡδολεσχῆκεναι πολλὰ τῶς πλευσαντες· ὁμῶς δ’ ἐν εἰρηκασὶ παραδὴλυντες ἄμα καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοῖς παθῶ, διότι πρὸς δοκίμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ κινδυνῷ ἐπηρχε τοῖς ἀληθεσι.” Strabo. Lib. 15.--1055.

<sup>p</sup> “Utiles pour la guerre et le commerce.” Hist. du Comm. et de la Navig. des Anciens, 53.

tus,<sup>1</sup> but his criticism on the authority of the journal of Nearchus preserved by Arrian appears to be bold as well as exceptionable. It may be proper to examine the evidence that he produces and to comment on it.

I. Neither the city of Arbis, the rivers Nabrus, Hytanis, nor in short the port of Argenus or Argenis, mentioned by Onesicritus, are to be found in Arrian, who hath added the distances that he specifies, from the extract of Pliny.

If however, Onesicritus, or rather Juba hath corrupted the names of places and hath even interwoven some suspicious circumstances, the journal of Nearchus is not impeachable on account of their imperfections or mistakes. The truth amidst contradictory assertions is easily discoverable on the examination of other evidence, and all the works of the cotemporary authors having perished, the present situation of places and the affinity between their ancient and modern names are what must be resorted to. Monsieur d'Anville hath incontestably proved the result is in favour of Nearchus. If the distances in Arrian do not correspond

<sup>1</sup> "Dodwel observe judicieusement que Pline n'a tiré tout ce qu'il rapporte de la navigation de Nearchus et d'Onesicrite que de l'extrait que Juba avoit fait de l'ouvrage de ce dernier." Dodwell appears to think very differently. "Erant enim sane, præterea ea quæ retulerat ex Nearchus et Onesicrito Juba, et aliæ quoque separatæ utriusque auctoris editiones, etiam ætate Plinii. Hoc inde colligo, quod in auctorum catalogis, e quibus libros operis sui singulos collegit Plinius, occurrit, præter Jubam, seorsim mentio tam Nearchi quam etiam Onesicriti. Quod sane non fuisset necesse, si, quæ de utroque habet Plinius, ea omnia ex solo hausisset Juba." De Arrian, Nearchus apud Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Vol. 1, -132, 8<sup>vo</sup> Oxon, 1698.



correspond with those in Pliny, they certainly were not taken from the Roman Naturalist.

II. It is universally allowed that Nearchus and Onesicritus marked their tract by the number of days, which were afterwards reduced into stadia: Juba again reduced them into miles in conformity to the Roman measure.—They gave the relation this semblance of exactness to impose upon the world. Dodwell strengthens the opinion by the authority of Marcian of Heraclea. “Many authors have written in haste with the intention of imposing on their readers, and affected to relate the names of places in nations that are totally unknown, and to ascertain their distance from each other in stadia, but Antiphanes of Bergœa hath surpassed them all in imposture. Those, on the contrary, who acquired a real knowledge of places and the dimensions of the different seas with the ports and cities and their respective distances have composed particular descriptive journals, and appear to have compiled them with fidelity.” —————Nearchus is not mentioned in this passage of Marcian, but the concluding sentence may be properly applied to him, and he may be truly classed with the geographers, whose accuracy is taken notice of.

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## III.

“Οἱ δὲ τῆς περιπλῆς προχεισεως ἡραψαντες, καὶ τῆς ἐντυγχανοντος παίδων ἐξελόντας τόπων τε προσηγορίας καὶ σταδίων ἀριθμὸν διεξιόντες, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιχωρίων ἢ ἐθνῶν βαρβαρῶν, ὧν οὐδε τὰς προσηγορίας εἶπαι δύναίτο ἂν τις, αὐτοὺς μοι δοκεσι τὸν Βεργαίῳ Ἀντιφάνῃ νενικήκεναι τῷ ψευδεὶ· ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ μερικὰς τινας ἐποίησαντο περιπλῶν διηγήσεις· ὧν καὶ τὰ χωρία σαφῶς ἐγινώσκον, καὶ τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν τῆς θαλάττης ἐκ ἡγε-  
 ἑν,

III. The journal of Nearchus was unknown to Agatharcides and Eratosthenes, who had the immense library of Alexandria before their eyes. This work ought therefore to be considered as fictitious. <sup>s</sup>———If even this negative argument hath any force, it remains to be asked from whence this information is derived. Are we peremptorily to decide at once from the short extract of Agatharcides on the Erythrean sea, which Photius hath left us, and what remains of his Asiatic history <sup>t</sup> preserved by Athenæus, or from a few mutilated fragments of Eratosthenes, that these authors had never heard of the Periplus of Nearchus?

IV. In the ages immediately after Alexander, the Indus was believed to join the Nile; <sup>w</sup> if therefore the journal of Nearchus had then existed, this error could not have been adopted. <sup>x</sup>———Under the same mode of reasoning, it may be insisted, that the works of Herodotus, Aristotle and Diodorus Siculus are suppositions, as we learn from them, that the Caspian sea has no communication with the neighbouring seas, which though erroneous was an opinion,

εν, ης πολεις η λιμενας, ης τα διασηματα τετων καταμαδοντες\* ετοι δοκεσιν η πανταπασιν πλειστα μετα της ενδεχομενης αληθειας εγγεγραφεναι." Marciani Heracleotæ Periplus. 63. Apud Geograph. Vet. Script. Minor. Tom. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Dodwell de Arriani Nearchi. Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. Tom. 1. Dissert. 6. Sect. 7.

<sup>t</sup> Photii Biblioth. 1322. See also 546, 547.

<sup>w</sup> The Baron de St. Croix remarks that Arrian borrowed what he says of the Nile, in the sixth chapter of his Indian History, from Megasthenes, and that the journal of Nearchus only commences at the twenty-first chapter, and from this circumstance the argument cannot possibly apply.

<sup>x</sup> Dodwell de Arriani Nearchi. Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. Tom. 1. Dissert. 8.

opinion, adopted in later times.—Truth creeps slowly forward into approbation and esteem, whilst even errors supported by ancient prejudices and sometimes by vanity, preserve their influence for years.

V. The *Periplus* of Nearchus was probably fabricated under the reigns of the last Ptolemies, as Antiphanes of Bergæum, Antonius Diogenes, and Euemerus of Messina, published about this period many fabulous relations.<sup>1</sup>

Such an argument has little strength, and it may be difficult to point out any relation whatever between the *Periplus* of Nearchus and the sacred history of Euemerus.

From a want of evidence, Arrian is overwhelmed with injurious epithets, and the Jesuit Harduin hath treated him with as little civility.<sup>2</sup> Yet their joint efforts cannot depreciate the authenticity and merit of a work, which carries internally the powerful impression of fidelity, and proves in every circumstance the accuracy of its author. There is a minute exactness, which is a sort of decisive deposition in favour of authentic journals, that is not to be found in the romantic and fictitious tales of imaginary adventures. The *Periplus* of Nearchus may be  
tried

<sup>1</sup> Dodwell de Artiani Nearcho. *Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Dissert.* 6.--139, 140.

<sup>2</sup> "Hominis mirare in mendaciis confingendis audaciam." Not. in Plin. *Hist. Nat.* Tom. 1.

tried by this criterion, and the whole of it, from the departure of the Macedonian fleet when it quitted the island of Sangada to its arrival at the mouth of the river Arabis or Arabius, is so very circumstantial as to leave its authenticity unquestionable.

“When the wind was abated, they again put to sea, and having sailed about sixty stadia further, came to a sandy coast, before which was a certain desolate island named Domas; which, by its situation, formed a haven, but as the water upon the coast was all brackish, they travelled about twenty stadia up a level country, where they found water sweet and pleasant; and sailing all the next day, in the evening they came to a country called Saranga, about three hundred stadia from their former station, where they went on shore, and found good water, about eight stadia from their landing-place. Thence, they renewed their voyage and arrived at Sacala, a country wholly uninhabited; whence, they passed between two rocks, so near each other, that the blades of their oars touched them on both sides at once. When they had sailed three hundred stadia, they came to Morontobara, where is a large, spacious, safe and commodious haven; but the entrance into it is narrow and rocky: this the natives called the Women’s Haven, from a certain woman, who first reigned in that place. Having passed the rocks with some difficulty, they came into the open sea again, and continuing their voyage left a certain island on their left hand, which is so near joining to the main land, that the channel, which separates them, seems to have been cut through.

That

That day they sailed about seventy stadia. The shore, all along the Continent, was full of thick woods, and the island opposite thereto, was also woody. About break of day they departed thence, and passed through the above-mentioned channel, by the help of the Tide, and after a course of one hundred and twenty stadia, arrived at the mouth of the river Arabius, where they found a large and safe harbour, but no fresh water, because the Tide flows a great way up the river, and makes it brackish; wherefore, passing about forty stadia up the river, they came to a lake, the water of which being sweet, they took what they wanted, and returned. The island, opposite to this haven, is high land, and uncultivated, but round it are vast quantities of oysters, and all kinds of fish, which makes it to be frequented by fishermen. 'Thus far the country of the Arabii extends itself, being the last part of India, that way, for the Oritæ inhabit the other side of the river.'<sup>a</sup>

Nearchus describes with the same minuteness his navigation from the mouths of the Indus to that of the Euphrates where his voyage ended. If he did not enter into the same details respecting the coast of Susia, the modern Khosistan, it arose from the difficulty of approaching the land with safety on account of the shoals and shallows.<sup>b</sup> Pietro della Valle tells us that he sailed at some distance from this track, and found a shoal with four fathom water,

<sup>a</sup> Rooke's Arrian. Vol. 2. C. 22.--245.

<sup>b</sup> "Τὴν χώραν τε γὰρ τετραγώνεια τε εἶναι τὴν πολλήν, καὶ ἐρηχίσιον ἐπὶ μέγα εἰς τὸν πόντον εἰσεχέσαν καὶ ταύτην σφαλερὴν ἐγκαθορμιζέσθαι πελαγίοισιν, ὥν σφίσι τὴν κομίδην τὸ πολὺ γίνεσθαι." Arrian. Hist. Indic. C. 41.--631.



ter, which stretched to a considerable extent: the Persians term this part of the Persian gulph Meidan, and the land is so low that it is not visible but at a very little distance. <sup>c</sup> On the plan of Monsieur d'Anville, and with the advantage of his researches, a great resemblance is perceptible between the ancient description of the different places mentioned in the journal of Nearchus, and their present appearances. This able geographer hath proved to demonstration the accuracy of Nearchus from a comparison of all the Oriental and European memoirs that treat of the several places, which the Macedonian fleet touched at, when they ranged along the coasts of Carmania, Persia, and Susia. Monsieur d'Anville's memoirs on the Persian gulph will not admit of being analysed: and his opinion of the journal of Nearchus shall be only cited. "Circumstances, which apply to the precise situation of places, and the resemblance of ancient names with those, that still subsist, and are not to be elsewhere met with, do not admit of a suspicion of fraud or fiction, and there are few ancient geographical memoirs, which will so well stand the test of a comparison with even the real knowledge of them."<sup>d</sup>

Yet it would be in vain to dissemble that Nearchus hath intermingled some fables in his journal. Amidst their number, the stories

<sup>c</sup> Memoire de Monsieur d'Anville. Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 30.--168.

<sup>d</sup> "L'application des circonstances qu'il renferme au local actuel, le rapport que des dénominations de lieux qui ne se rencontrent point ailleurs, ont avec celles qui subsistent, ne souffrent aucun soupçon de supposition; et il y a peu d'autres memoires geographiques de l'antiquite, qui

ries of men, who cut up fish and wood with their nails; <sup>c</sup> who built and covered their houses with the larger bones of whales, and employed the lefs in the formation of their domestic utensils, <sup>d</sup> and also that of the island of Nofala, inhabited by one of the Nereids, <sup>e</sup> are to the last degree exceptionable. These fables, however, ought not to affect the work itself, and should be considered rather as poetical and imaginary episodes, corresponding with the Grecian taste, which was always more partial to the charms of fictitious scenery, than the chaster compositions of rigid truth.

The Macedonian fleet sailed, according to Arrian, on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, in the eleventh year of Alexander's reign, when Cephifodorus was Archon at Athens, <sup>h</sup> whose magistracy is notwithstanding fixed by Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and by most of the chronologists in the year after Alexander's death. It seems then a mistake, and Arrian ought to have related this voyage under the Archonship of Anti-

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cles,

qui soutiennent mieux la comparaison avec une connoissance positive du local." *Recherches Geograph. sur le Golfe Perlique. Acad. des Inscrip. Tom. 30.--133.*

<sup>c</sup> "Τοις γὰρ θηονξιν ὅσα σιδηρὰ διαχρᾶσθαι ἐλεγοντο, καὶ τῆς ἰχθύας τῶτοισι παρ᾽αρχίζοντες κατεργάζεσθαι. καὶ τῶν ξύλων ὅσα μὲλακωτερά." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 24.--600.

<sup>d</sup> "Χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία\* εἶναι ὥν τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇσι πλευσήσιν αὐτῶν ὄρεα, δοκὸς τοῖσιν οἰκημασιν ὅσα μεγάλα\* τὰ δὲ μικροτέρα, σφυτήρης." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 30.--612.

<sup>e</sup> "L' habitation des Nereides." "Οἰκῆσαι τὴν νήσον ταύτην μίαν τῶν Νηρηίδων." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 31.--613.

<sup>h</sup> Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 21.--592.

cles, the fourth year of the one hundred and thirteenth Olympiad, and three hundred and twenty-five years before Christ, which will be the eleventh year of Alexander's reign. Corfini hath given a very satisfactory solution of this difficulty, and supposes Cephifodorus to have succeeded Anticles, who might have died, or been displaced during his year of office,<sup>i</sup> and the necessity of this correction is evident from the manuscripts in the late French King's library, which concur in the expression of Cephifodorus.—It is also an established fact, that Nearchus finished his naval expedition before the death of Alexander.

Pliny informs us that Nearchus was employed seven months in his expedition, and was three months at sea.<sup>k</sup> Many reasons may be conceived to have occasioned the length of time taken up in this voyage. The construction of the vessels of the Ancients, which were in general small, and of much less dimensions than those of our days, rendered them incapable of weathering any heavy seas or violent gales, and as they had fewer sails, they consequently made less way.<sup>l</sup> They rarely also ventured out of the sight of land, but coasted regularly, and this mode of navigation  
must

<sup>i</sup> Corfini. Fast. Attic. Dissert. 9. Tom. 2.--30, 31. Tom. 4.--52.

<sup>k</sup> "Alexandrum invenerunt septimo mense, postquam digressus ab iis fuerat Patulis, tertio navigationis. Sic Alexandri classis navigavit." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 23. Tom. 1.--703.

<sup>l</sup> We learn from Marcianus of Heraclea it was a received opinion, that a vessel might run seven hundred and sometimes even nine hundred stadia in a day, with a favourable wind, though others did not exceed five hundred. "ὁμολογημενον γαρ τευδ' ὅτι ἐπτακοσις ἡξιοδρομησα ναυς δια μι-

must have been very tedious. The Macedonian fleet, it must be recollected likewise, had to pass through unknown seas, and without proper pilots they could not venture to pursue their track in the night and in the dark. These were great impediments, and the progress of the voyage was retarded by the contrary winds, which they had to encounter in their passage.

Montesquieu supposes that the Macedonian fleet had to struggle with the Monsoons, and that it failed in July, <sup>m</sup> a season when no European vessel in our days would quit a port in India on a return to Europe. This great writer appears, however, to be mistaken. Nearchus only failed in September, which answers to the Boedromion of the Attic year, and agreeable to Pliny's calculation, he completed his voyage early in the month Munychion, which is our April. During this time it is certain that the storms, which attend the Monsoon are not felt on this side cape Commo-

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rin,

ας ανηι της ημερας, ευροι τις αν κ' εννακωσις διαδρχησαν ναυη εκ της των κατασκευασαντων τεχνης το ταχ' περιλαβυσαν, κ' ετεραν μολις πεντακωσις δεικνυσασαν, δια την εναντιαν της τεχνης αιτιαν." Mars. Heracl. Peripl. apud Geog. Veter. Script. Græc. Min. Tom. 1.--67.) The Baron de St. Croix taking the stadium at one hundred Toises reckons a vessel of the Ancients might with a favourable wind have made a passage from twenty-three marine leagues and a fraction to thirty in a day, and with a contrary wind, computes it at sixteen.

<sup>m</sup> "La flotte d' Alexandre mit sept mois pour aller de Patate a Suze. Elle partit dans le mois de Juillet, c' est à dire, dans un temps ou aujourd'hui aucun navire n' ose se mettre en mer pour revenir des Indes. Entre l' une et l' autre mouçon, il y a un intervalle de temps pendant lequel les vents varient; et où un vent de hord, se melant avec les vents ordinaires, cause, surtout aupres de côtes, d' horribles tempêtes. Ce la dure les mois de Juin et Juillet, et d' Aout. La flotte d' Alexandre, partant de Patate au mois de Juillet, essuya bien des tempêtes, et le voyage fut long, parcequ' elle navigea dans un mouçon contraire." Montesquieu, de l' Esprit des Loix. Lib. 21. C. 9. Tom. 1.--490, 491.



rin, and are confined to the months of May, June, July, and August.

The evidence of Arrian is very peremptory on the departure of the fleet. "As soon therefore as the Etelian or anniversary winds ceased, (which on these coasts blow from the sea towards the land the whole summer, and thereby render navigation impracticable during that time) they begun their voyage on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, the eleventh year of Alexander's reign according to the Macedonian and Asiatic computation, when Cephisodorus was Archon of Athens." <sup>n</sup>

But perhaps it may be objected, that if the Monsoon was not contrary, no other winds could have in such a manner retarded their course. On the coasts, however, of Guzarat and in general on all those of India upon this side the mountains of Gate, the winds blow almost constantly out of a Southerly quarter from September to March, and from the coasts of Africa towards India, they regularly decline towards the West in proportion as Asia is approached. <sup>o</sup> The winds were therefore very foul for the Macedonian fleet, whose course lay from East to West, and it is a known principle that the velocity of the air, is increased like a current of water, when its channel is narrowed. Nearchus, from  
this

<sup>n</sup> Rooke's Arrian. Vol. 2.--243. "Ὡς δα τα Ετησια πνευματα εκοιμηθη (αδη τε διερεται την ἕρην πασαν κατεχει εκ της πελαγεος επιπνεοντα επι την γην, η ταυτη απορον τον πλεον ποιοντα) τοτε δη ωρμηνητο, επι αρχοντος Αθηνησι Κηφισοδορου, εκαδι της Βοηδρομιων μηνος, καθοτι Αθηναιοι αγουσιν\* ως δε Μακεδονες τε η Ασιανοι ηγον, το ένδεκατον βασιλευντος Αλεξανδρου." Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 21.--592.

<sup>o</sup> Varen. Geog. C. 21. Propos. 3. See also Dr. Halley. Essay. Philosoph. Transact. 1735.



this last circumstance, on his arrival at the mouth of the Persian gulph, must have found great difficulty, and been much distressed in doubling cape Bendis, now known under the name of Jask. His track must have then been between the North and West,<sup>p</sup> and the East and South-East winds must have carried him at a great rate towards the land. Onesicritus here wished to terminate the voyage, but the courage and good conduct of Nearchus surmounted every difficulty and danger. Having repaired his fleet on the banks of the river Anamis,<sup>q</sup> at some distance on this side the Island Ogyris now Ormus, he continued his course, notwithstanding the contrary and unfavourable winds to which he was exposed, and put into the river Sitaco,<sup>r</sup> the modern Sita-Rhegian, where he employed twenty-one days in caulking and refitting his squadron.

When the winds shift in these seas from North to South and the collateral points, there are many days, and sometimes months of continual calm and tempests, and it was from these causes that Nearchus was detained. This officer having mentioned in his journal some storm or other, Arrian most probably confounded this accidental gale from the South with the contrary Monsoon or Etesian winds. The currents produced by the West and South-West winds, which set directly against the Macedonian fleet,

<sup>p</sup> “Ενθενδε δε ὡσαυτως ἐκεῖ, πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμενὲς ἐπλεον· ἀλλὰ το μετὰ ξυ δυσί τε ἡλίου καὶ τῆς ἀρκτὸς ἔ-  
των μάλλον τι αἱ πρῶραι αὐτοῖσιν ἐπείχον.” Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 32.--614.

<sup>q</sup> Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 33.--616.

<sup>r</sup> ————— C. 38.--627.

fleet, were not therefore the least of the impediments that Nearchus had to combat.

The Jesuit Petau<sup>a</sup> dates the navigation of Nearchus in the magistracy of Chremes, three hundred and twenty-seven years before Christ, and in the year when Porus was defeated. But the authority of Diodorus Siculus, which the learned chronologist followed too implicitly, hath led him into some mistakes. The Greek historian compresses into the Archonship of Chremes<sup>c</sup> a croud of events, which could not possibly have happened in such a short space of time, and he also mentions two other Archons, Anticles, and Soficles, before the year of Alexander's death. Corfini<sup>w</sup> judiciously observes that the name of Soficles should be effaced, or considered as the name of an Archon substituted in the same year for Anticles, and the conjecture seems in some measure authorized by the text itself as well as Diodorus Siculus, who brings the magistracy of Anticles and also that of Soficles under the Consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Popilius.—<sup>x</sup> Diodorus Siculus does not mention any remarkable event during the magistracy of these two Archons, and seems to have referred them all to that of Chremes, in which he fixes the defeat of Porus, that was previous to this Archon, and ought to be dated in the magistracy of Hegemon, whose name in all probability might have been found

<sup>a</sup> Doctrin. Temp. Livr. 13.--597, 598.

<sup>c</sup> Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--229—246.

<sup>w</sup> Corfini. Fast. Attic. Dissert. 9. Tom. 2.--31—33. Tom. 4.--49.

<sup>x</sup> Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--248.—Corfini, Fast. Attic. Tom. 2. Dissert. 22, 23.

found in the part of the seventeenth book of this historian which is wanting.—The series of later events, and the formal evidence of Arrian leave little doubt of this period.

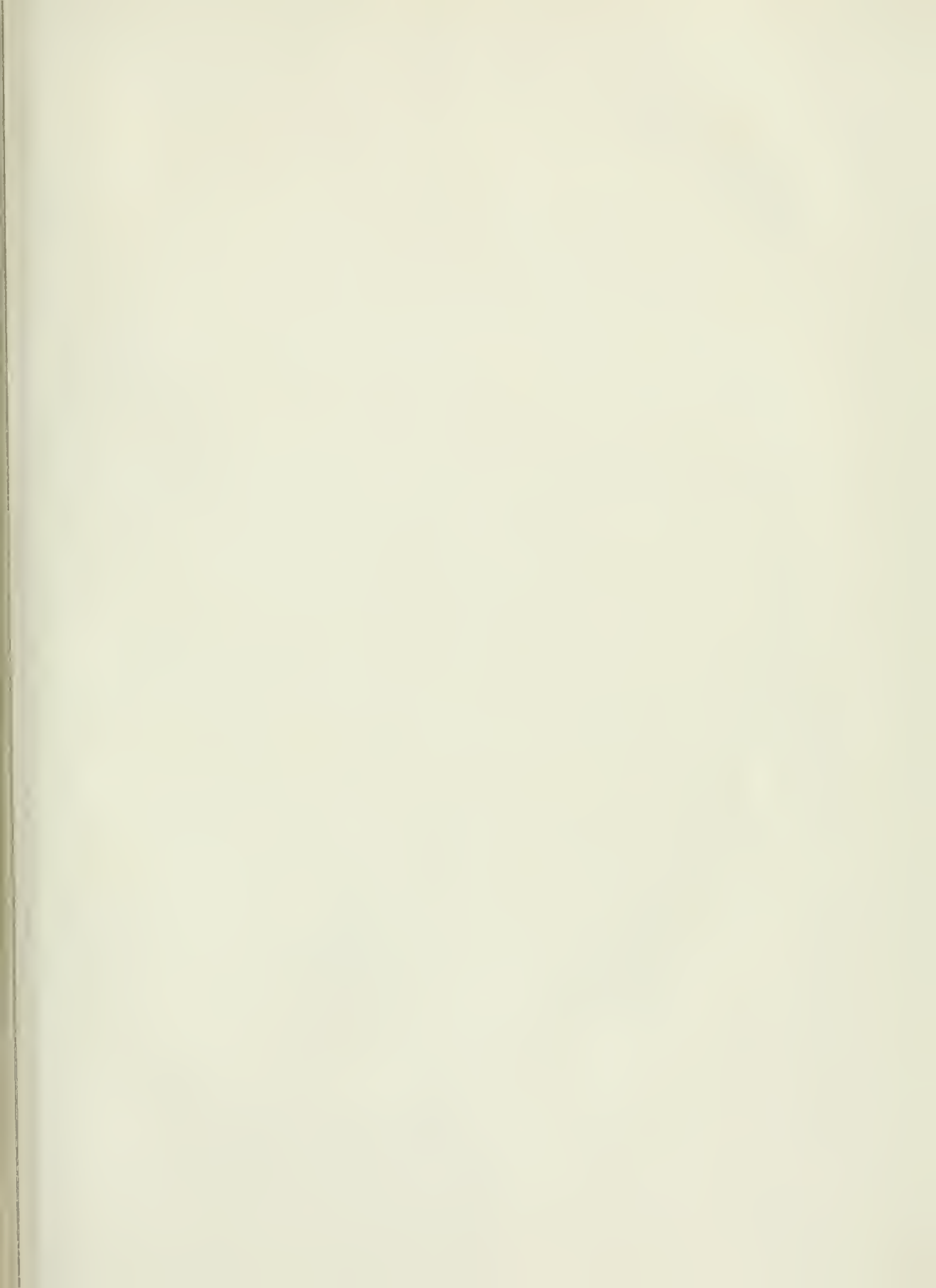
Hegemon undoubtedly preceded Chremes in the Attic annals, and the navigation of Nearchus ought then to be reckoned in the last year of Alexander's reign, under the Archonship of Anticles or rather Cephisodorus his substitute, and this Archonship included both the events marked by Diodorus Siculus in the magistracy of Soficles, and a part of those in that of Chremes. It appears also that the Greek historian enumerated under Soficles some events, such as the defeat of the Cossæans, <sup>1</sup> and the entry of Alexander <sup>2</sup> into Babylon, which could only have happened in the first eleven months of the year in which Alexander died, when Hegefias was Archon. Diodorus Siculus hath in this manner overturned the entire chronology of the last years of this Prince's reign, and descending to objects of inferior magnitude, his mistake, as to the time of the navigation of Nearchus, hath been occasioned by his erroneous arrangement of the events which preceded it.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--248.—Ufferii Annal. 206, 207.

<sup>2</sup> ——— Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--248.

T H E E N D.











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